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ABSTRACT

This final substantive report includes the working papers presented by the American and Japanese participants, notes on discussions, a summary of an address by William Labov, and draft proposals for joint sociolinguistic research. The working papers involve several sociolinguistic issues in Japanese-American and Japanese culture. The American papers concern lexical borrowing by Japanese Americans in Hawaii, phonological reduction rules for evaluation in sociolinguistic analysis, sociolinguistic factors inhibiting Japanese-American communication, language and social change, and mutual understanding between Japanese and Americans. The Japanese papers treat cultural comparisons, language behavior and cultural patterns, the ethnography of self-reference and address in Japanese, approaches to studying contrasting cultures, and the use of Japanese invective words or curses. References and notes are included with the papers along with a summary of the discussions that followed the presentation of each paper. (VM)

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Final Substantive Report

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Joint Japanese-American Conference on Sociolinguistics
East-West Center
University of Hawaii
August 24-28, 1970

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I. Introduction

In response to interest expressed by the Japanese, a preliminary conference on sociolinguistics, with Japanese and American participation, was organized by the U.S.-Japan Committee for Joint Research in the Social Sciences, in Washington, in February, 1970, for the purpose of exploring the possibility of launching joint research into the sociolinguistic factors that inhibit Japanese-American intercultural communication.

It was the unanimous judgment of this group that before any joint research could be organized, a working conference of Japanese and American scholars should be held to review some of the work that had already been done, and to make specific and detailed recommendations regarding the direction, scope, and methodological base of the research to be undertaken. Working papers, describing current projects and interests which would suggest future research, rather than already completed research, were to be presented.

Accordingly, the Joint Japanese-American Conference on Sociolinguistics was held at the East-West Center, University of Hawaii, on August 24-28, 1970, supported on the American side by the Office of Education, and on the Japanese side by the Ministry of Education, administered through the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

Participants in the conference included:

on the Japanese side:

Tetsuya KUNIHIRO, COORDINATOR FOR THE JAPANESE, Assistant Professor of Linguistics, University of Tokyo
Akira HOSHINO, Associate Professor of Psychology, International Christian University
Fumio INOUE, Student, Graduate School (Doctoral course in Linguistics), University of Tokyo
Chie NAKANE, Professor, Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo
Rinju OGASAWARA, Textbook Research Officer, Elementary and Secondary Education Bureau, Ministry of Education
Takao SUZUKI, Professor of Linguistics, Language Research Institute, Keio University

on the American side:

Eleanor H. JORDEN, COORDINATOR FOR THE AMERICANS and PROJECT DIRECTOR, Visiting Professor of Linguistics, Cornell University

James ASHER, Professor of Psychology, San Jose State College
Masanori HIGA, Associate Professor, Department of English as a Second Language, University of Hawaii
Bates L. HOFFER, Associate Professor, Department of English, Trinity University
Agnes NIYEKAWA-HOWARD, Researcher and Coordinator, Culture Learning Program, East-West Center, University of Hawaii
Mary SANCHES, Faculty Associate, Department of Anthropology, University of Texas

Dr. Richard Thompson, of the Office of Education, Project Officer for the Conference, attended conference sessions.

The conference was opened by Professor Jorden, who described the background and purpose of the conference and commented on the week's agenda. It was emphasized that the primary concern of the group would be the question of the direction and method of future work rather than discussion of research already completed.

II. Working Papers Presented by American Participants (Monday, August 24, 1970)

The Sociolinguistic Significance of Borrowed Words in the Japanese Spoken in Hawaii

Masanori Higa
University of Hawaii

In 1968 the Japanese community of Hawaii celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of Japanese immigration to Hawaii. Between 1868 when the immigration began and 1924 when it was prohibited by the U.S. Government, about 150,000 Japanese immigrated to Hawaii.[1] The U.S. Government relaxed its immigration law after World War II, and it is said that about 15,000 Japanese moved to Hawaii between 1946 and 1968, many of whom were so-called war-brides. Today these pre-war and post-war immigrants and their offspring constitute roughly a third of the population of the State of Hawaii, that is, about 230,000.

Although most of the Japanese population are nisei, sansei and yonsei (second, third, and fourth generations), the Japanese language is still spoken in Hawaii. This is evidenced by the existence of two full-time and three part-time Japanese language radio stations, one television station, and two daily newspapers[2] on the island of Oahu alone. This situation is likely to last for many

more years and the use of the Japanese language in Hawaii will continue to present interesting topics for not only linguistic but also psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic studies.

This is a sociolinguistic essay on an interesting phenomenon that this writer has observed about the Japanese language spoken in Hawaii--the use of borrowed words. In this paper, for the sake of convenience, the Japanese spoken in Hawaii will be referred to as Hawaiian Japanese and the people of Japanese ancestry as nikkeijin.

When a visitor from Japan to Hawaii listens to Hawaiian Japanese, in general he experiences little difficulty in comprehending it, although he immediately notices that it is somewhat different from standard Japanese. The writer's study of Hawaiian Japanese began with the questions of (1) what makes Hawaiian Japanese different from the standard Japanese and (2) what makes Hawaiian Japanese difficult at times for a Japanese visitor to understand. A commonly given answer to the first question is that the accentual base of Hawaiian Japanese is the Chugoku dialect of Japanese. However, beyond this obvious accentual difference, there is a lexical factor which makes Hawaiian Japanese different from standard Japanese. That factor is the abundant use of borrowed English words. And this seems to be the answer to the second question also. When a nikkeijin speaks to a Japanese visitor, he does not use as many borrowed words as when he converses with another nikkeijin. A visitor finds conversation between two nikkeijin often difficult to understand, because between them there is little constraint on the use of borrowed words. This aspect--the use of borrowed words by an immigrant group in a new culture--has rarely been studied from the sociolinguistic point of view. Before this aspect is elaborated on, the background of the nikkeijin will be briefly described.

The Japanese-speaking nikkeijin may be categorized into three groups: (1) the pre-war immigrants, (2) their children, i.e., the nisei, and (3) the post-war immigrants. The pre-war immigrant group numbers only about 20,000 and most of them are now well over the age of sixty-five. According to the census taken by the Japanese Consulate in Honolulu in 1960, about 24% of this group came from Hiroshima, 20% from Yamaguchi, 15% from Okinawa, 14% from Kumamoto, and 27% from the rest of Japan. These proportions were roughly the same in 1924, the last year of pre-war immigration. Since close to a half of the pre-war immigrants came from Hiroshima and Yamaguchi, two neighboring prefectures, and since they came to Hawaii earlier than the immigrants from the other prefectures,

it is understandable that their speech, the Chugoku dialect, became a sort of standard Japanese in Hawaii. Those immigrants from such prefectures as Okinawa, Kumamoto, and Fukushima, who spoke radically different dialects, came to learn and speak the Chugoku dialect after they arrived in Hawaii. This dialect is characterized by the frequent use of the interjectional particle noo and the conjunctive particle ken and the omission of the nominalizing particle to. The following is an example of the Japanese spoken by the pre-war immigrants:[3]

/kyoowanoo atamaga itaikennoo sigoto yasumoo omou/

(Because I have a headache, I don't think I will go to work today.)

In standard Japanese the above sentence would be:

/kyoowa atamaga itaikara sigotoo yasumooto omou/

The number of the pre-war immigrants is decreasing rapidly, but their speech has been inherited by their children, the nisei.

The number of nisei is estimated to be around 80,000. Many of them are in the age range of forty to sixty. The nisei learned Japanese from their parents as their first language and, in many cases, they learned English only when they started going to school (Miyamoto, 1937). As pupils they went to public schools in the morning and private Japanese language schools in the afternoon. Since their parents emphasized that Hawaii was their temporary home and they were to return to Japan eventually, a significant number of parents sent their nisei sons and daughters to Japan for secondary and college education. This practice continued until 1941 when the war between Japan and the United States broke out. It is said that in that year 2,000 nisei from Hawaii were studying in Japan. Naturally enough, those nisei who have studied in Japan tend to speak better Japanese than English, while those who have studied in American colleges find themselves more at ease with English than with Japanese. A common complaint among those who did not receive higher education either in the United States or in Japan is that both their English and Japanese are not satisfactory. In general, the nisei speak informal Japanese and seem unable to use the formal or honorific style. Their sentences are often short and elliptic. The intonation pattern of the nisei's Japanese shows a clear influence of that of American English. The following are some examples of their Japanese:

/yuu doko iku/ (Where are you going?)
/kore oisiinoo/ (This is delicious, isn't it?)
/mii isogasii/ (I am busy)

It was observed before World War II that among themselves the nisei carried on about half of their conversation in Japanese even in public schools (Smith, 1939; Smith and Kasdon, 1961). It looked as if the sansei, too, would learn Japanese and become bilingual. However, when the war broke out, things Japanese became things of the enemy and a "Speak American" campaign was started in Hawaii (Kimura, 1956). The issei now spoke Japanese in whispers, while the nisei, who began to regard themselves as loyal Americans, spoke English as much as possible and stopped encouraging their children, the sansei, to learn Japanese. As soon as the war broke out, the Japanese language schools were shut down by the U.S. Government and the school administrators were interned. These schools were reopened several years after the war, but they have never regained the prestige and influence they had enjoyed in the Japanese communities before the war. In 1939, just before the war, there were 194 Japanese language schools in Hawaii and 38,515 pupils were enrolled in them. Today the number of schools is only 82 and the number of pupils only 9,700, and these numbers are on the decrease.[4] Because of such influences of the war, today it is rare to find a sansei or yonsei who speaks Japanese.

The third group of Japanese-speaking nikkeijin consists of about 15,000 post-war immigrants.[5] They tended to be much more educated than the pre-war immigrants and brought with them standard Japanese to Hawaii. Most of the announcers and reporters for the Japanese language radio and television stations and newspapers come from this group.

Although there are these three different sub-groups in the Japanese-speaking population, each speaking accentually and somewhat lexically different Japanese from the others, there is one aspect which is common to their speech and which characterizes the three varieties as one Hawaiian Japanese. That is the use of words borrowed mostly from English, the language of the country where they reside, and to some extent from the languages of the other ethnic groups in Hawaii.

Lexical borrowing is a common phenomenon when one language comes into contact with another. This is often explained in terms of lexical needs and innovations. Weinreich (1968) gave several possible reasons for such borrowing, one of which is sociolinguistic and relevant here. According to him, a person is likely to use words

borrowed from a prestigious language "as a means of displaying the social status which its knowledge symbolizes." The unnecessary and heavy use of borrowed English words by immigrants to America, for instance, is meant to show their advanced state of acculturation and, therefore, their social status (see also Rayfield, 1970). However, as Weinreich himself pointed out, there is no explanation to account for the fact that some particular words are readily and unnecessarily borrowed while certain other particular words are not, even though they are all equal in terms of frequency of use and lexical usefulness. For example, in Hawaiian Japanese words like sister and yesterday are borrowed from English but words like fruit and rain are not. It seems that foreign words are not borrowed randomly. In addition to lexical and prestige motives, there would seem to be other motives and principles behind lexical borrowing. So far very little research has been done on this aspect. Hawaiian Japanese provides sufficient data for the purpose of such research.

Before discussing the sociolinguistic significance of the use of borrowed words in Hawaiian Japanese, a few sample borrowed English words are given below:

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/dakutaa/	doctor
/eegu/	egg
/gyooru/	girl
/pansu/	pants
/samutaimu/	sometimes
/soobisu/	service
/teketu/	ticket
/toozude/	Thursday

Because empirical validation is needed for whatever significance may be mentioned regarding the borrowing of such words as these, this writer's statements will be made in terms of four hypotheses.

The first hypothesis is that the use of borrowed words among the nikkeijin is a linguistic device to create a new Japanese dialect--Hawaiian Japanese. A corollary is that the use of borrowed words contributes to the solidarity of the nikkeijin. When the pre-war immigrants came to Hawaii from various dialect areas of Japan, there must have risen a need for a common speech. Regarding such a need, Hertzler (1965), p. 382, said:

> Whenever social circumstances lead to the formation of a distinct group within the whole body of society, or of distinct common characteristics and functions

> for a category of the population, the people involved will tend to, or deliberately devise, speech forms of their own.

The dialect of the dominant majority--the Chugoku dialect--became the common speech among the pre-war immigrants in the earlier period as mentioned before. However, that speech was not sufficient for its speakers to identify themselves as Japanese immigrants in Hawaii as time went on. Furthermore, it was not easy for the non-native speakers of the Chugoku dialect to speak that dialect as its native speakers did, although it was certainly much easier than learning and adopting English as a common speech. The use of borrowed words alleviated this kind of language handicap by making the dialectal differences relatively insignificant, and enabled the nikkeijin to identify themselves as Japanese immigrants or people of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii.

There is a tendency among the nikkeijin to use such terms as japan men (Japanese man), japan boi (Japanese boy), and japan gyoru (Japanese girl) to identify visiting Japanese and new Japanese immigrants. Such an identity is usually made on the basis of one's speech. If one speaks Hawaiian Japanese which is characterized by the frequent use of borrowed words, one is accepted as a roko (local). For this reason, a new immigrant is eager to learn and to use the borrowed words that the roko use. In fact, like the American immigrants that Weinreich (1968) pointed out, he is so eager that he tends to overuse them or use words which are not commonly borrowed by the roko. Since Hawaiian Japanese cultivates an in-group feeling among the nikkeijin, it is used mostly among the roko. When a roko speaks to a japan men, he tends not to use borrowed words. This avoidance may be due to the awareness of the roko that the japan men may not understand him. Whatever the reason may be, the use of borrowed words by the roko is a conscious language behavior and he seems to be aware of the variables involved in this behavior. The situation is analogous to that in which many in Hawaii speak creolized English among themselves but try to speak ordinary English to visitors from the other States. The question of how local or familiar a person is judged to be by the nikkeijin, on the basis of his use of borrowed words, would be an interesting topic for research which could validate the hypothesis mentioned above.

The second hypothesis is that the borrowed words used by the nikkeijin reflect the process and the degree of their social and psychological adjustment to the new cultural environment. Since borrowed words are linguistic records of interaction between different cultures, an

analysis of the borrowed words in Hawaiian Japanese should indicate the nature and extent of not only the nikkeijin's acculturation in Hawaii but also something about the nature of Japanese culture. For example, many American kinship terms are borrowed, even though there are Japanese equivalents for most of them. This indicates the nikkeijin's probable adoption of the American kinship system. On the other hand, the author's preliminary study shows that very few words related to government have been borrowed by the nikkeijin despite the fact that the American political system was very much different from the Japanese system prior to the end of the second world war. Not even the word democracy is borrowed and its Japanese translation is not used either. This seems to reflect the fact that the Japanese immigrants had long been barred from acquiring American citizenship and from participating in government.

In order to validate the second hypothesis, as complete a list of borrowed words as possible must be compiled. The chronology of the borrowed words used in Hawaiian Japanese can be traced to some extent in the writings of nikkeijin and also in the back issues of the Japanese language newspapers published in Hawaii. Chronological, etymological, and categorial analyses of these words may be "correlated" to the history of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii.

The third hypothesis is that words of so-called conjunctive concepts and disjunctive concepts are individually borrowed to meet various lexical needs, whereas words of relational concepts are borrowed as conceptual systems. Conjunctive concepts are usually concrete like table and violin; disjunctive concepts are abstract like happy and beauty; relational concepts are those that exist only in relation to other concepts, for example, father, son, east and west (Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, 1956). This hypothesis can explain to a great extent why certain words are seemingly unnecessarily borrowed. An initial analysis of such borrowed words shows that if a word belonging to a system of relational concepts is borrowed for some lexical reason, such as there being no exact equivalent in Japanese, the other words belonging to the same system are also borrowed, regardless of whether there are Japanese equivalents or not.

A kinship system is a good example. It is not clear as yet which of the American kinship terms was borrowed first by the nikkeijin. It may have been uncle for which there is no exact equivalent in Japanese. The Japanese term, ojisan, refers not only to brothers of the ego's parents but also to male adults in general. In Hawaiian

Japanese these two categories are clearly distinguished by the use of the borrowed English words, anku (uncle) and misuta (mister) or men (man). The following is a list of borrowed words commonly used in making kinship relations in Hawaiian Japanese:

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/dedi/	daddy
/papaa/	papa
/mami/	mommy
/mamaa/	mama
/boi/	son
/gyooru/	daughter
/burada/	brother
/sisuta/	sister
/anku/	uncle
/anti/	aunty
/kazun/	cousin

The traditional Japanese terms, niisan (elder brother), otooto (younger brother), neesan (elder sister), and imooto (younger sister) are rarely used. However, such borrowed terms as buradainro (brother-in-law) and sisutainro (sister-in-law) are frequently used. In referring to their children, parents often use terms like nanba wan boi (number one boy--eldest son) and nanba tu gyooru (number two girl--second daughter). These cases indicate that the Japanese kinship terms are no longer used in Hawaiian Japanese.

Pronouns and forms of address are also borrowed but they are very much Japanized. The motive for borrowing such words must have been to avoid the use of the many Japanese pronouns and forms of address that are deeply associated with social status. The following are examples of the Japanized English forms:

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/miiwa/	I
/miino/	my
/miini/	me
/miirawa/	we
/yuuwa/	you
/himuwa/	he
/misuta/	mister or husband
/misesu/	lady or wife
/hezuben/	husband

Both misuta and misesu are often used not as titles but as common nouns, as in the following:

/nakamurano misutaga kita/

(The mister of Nakamura came= Mr. Nakamura came.)

/naze misesuwa konakaqta/

(Why didn't Mrs. come?=Why didn't the wife come?)

/yuuno misesuwa wakainoo/

(Your Mrs. is young=Your wife is young, isn't she?)

Other borrowed words of relational concepts in Hawaiian Japanese pertain to time and quantity. The borrowing of words like those listed below is as conspicuous as that of kinship terms and pronouns.

Hawaiian Japanese	English
/rasu iya/	last year
/nekisu iya/	next year
/wan mansu/	one month
/tu awa/	two hours
/mande/	Monday
/tuu reeto/	too late
/banbai/	by-and-by
/samu taimu/	sometimes
/ooru taimu/	all the time
/ron taimu/	long time
/seben taimu/	seven times
/wan/	one
/toori/	thirty
/samu/	some
/biigu/	big
/sumooru/	small
/moa/	more
/too maqti/	too much

Very few English prepositions are borrowed, although they are related to the expression of time and spatial concepts. At present, there is no explanation to account for this fact except the phenomenological statement that, unlike content words, function words are rarely borrowed by one language from another. Those few that are used in Hawaiian Japanese, such as bihoo (before), insai (inside), and ausai (outside), are always nominalized by adding a postpositional particle to them. In Hawaiian pidgin English, too, which is spoken mostly by Oriental immigrants, prepositions are rarely used.

It seems that English prepositions are not borrowed in Hawaiian Japanese because they are incompatible and insufficient to replace Japanese postpositions. According to case grammar (Fillmore, 1968), prepositions and

postpositions function as case-markers. Since the Japanese language suffixes postpositions to nouns as case-markers, the borrowing of English prepositions as prepositions is not compatible in terms of word order. Their use as postpositions in place of Japanese postpositions is not sufficient because there are no prepositions in English for marking such traditional cases as subjective and objective. Japanese postpositions are used to indicate such cases, too. It may be concluded that only grammatically compatible words are borrowed. As long as they are grammatically compatible, even function words may be borrowed. One proof to support this argument is that conjunctions like and and but are often borrowed by the nisei in their Hawaiian Japanese.[6] These conjunctions can be used in accordance with the word order prescribed by Japanese grammar for their Japanese equivalents. The reason neither prepositions nor postpositions are used in Hawaiian pidgin English seems to be that they are dependent on word order for indicating cases.

The fourth hypothesis is based on the three mentioned above. This is that from the sociolinguistic point of view the most important words in a language are those related to kinship relations, social relations, time, and quantity. This implies that in order to acculturate an immigrant in a new culture, it is minimally sufficient to familiarize him with such words in the language of that culture. The use of these words even as borrowed words in his native language may be sufficient to give him the feeling that he is now a member of not only his immigrant community but also the whole body of society. The hypothesis has an important implication for the teaching of a foreign language, too. These words may be the ones that should be taught first and well in an introductory foreign language course. It may turn out that these words are also the easiest to learn because of sociolinguistic needs.

This has been a discussion of the sociolinguistic significance of the use of borrowed words in Hawaiian Japanese. The four hypotheses mentioned in this paper may be tested in various ways. One interesting way would be to compare the borrowed words used in Hawaiian Japanese with those in the languages of other immigrant groups in Hawaii and also with those in the Japanese spoken by Japanese immigrants in California, New York, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and other places. This kind of comparison, though time-consuming, is feasible, and it could test the universality of the hypotheses.

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Footnotes

[1] The statistical information here comes from the following: Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development; Horman (1956); Schmitt (1968); United Japanese Society of Hawaii (1964).

[2] The number of subscriptions for each is reported to be about 12,000.

[3] See Tsushima (1969, pp. 304-305) for other examples.

[4] See the Nov. 19 and Dec. 15 issues of The Hawaii Hochi (1969) for the state of the Japanese language schools in Hawaii.

[5] No one seems to have the correct figure. The number quoted here comes from Hawaii Times (1968, p. 40).

[6] Rayfield's study (1970) of the borrowing of English function words in American Yiddish also gives support to this argument. Because Yiddish is a prepositional language, English prepositions are frequently borrowed in American Yiddish. Weinreich (1968) also reported the same phenomenon, but he discussed it in terms of lexical interference in bilinguals.

Discussion:

1. A comparative study of English borrowings in standard Japanese and those in Hawaiian Japanese would be an interesting subject for research. This should include investigation of phonological contrasts, comparative semantic structures, and competing forms.

2. An interesting aspect of research on Hawaiian Japanese would be a study of numbers: when are English numbers used, and when Japanese?; which does the nikkeijin use for computation?; why is

English used so consistently for telephone numbers?

3. In conducting research on Hawaiian Japanese, evaluation techniques as described by Professor William Labov should be utilized. Value judgments by various members of the community will be significant.

4. It might prove worthwhile to examine some of the other dialects of Hawaii-Hawaiian Chinese, for example--to see if their development is parallel to that of Hawaiian Japanese. A difference in educational level among the different language groups, mentioned as something which might affect dialect development, is probably a significant factor for such a study, according to Professor Higa.

5. The study of what triggers a switch in language use among bilinguals is another subject for investigation: is it the occurrence of a single lexical item of the second language which has no unit equivalent in the language that has been used up to this point that results in a switch?; or do bilinguals vacillate according to subject matter?; or does a switch in language reflect an effort to establish dominance in a conversation?

Phonological Reduction Rules as an Evaluation Criterion in Sociolinguistic Analysis

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1. Sociolinguistics is based on the grammars of two or more languages or dialects which differ by at least one rule; that rule in turn must correlate with a describable difference in social behaviour or situation. Furthermore, the subjective evaluation of the use of the different rule is the crucial goal of a close sociolinguistic analysis. For a simple example, a brand of English influenced by Japanese rules is considered by most Americans a substandard English--although in Hawaii and California this may not be the case. A Spanish "accent" is usually more neutral, while a French one is highly valued; for example, Charles Boyer and Maurice Chevalier delight Americans. William Labov established the basic approach to sociolinguistics as one consisting of three separate problems (Labov, p. 93):

(1) The transition problem is the specification of a linguistic change, or, in the case of a synchronic study of two dialects, the specification of the precise rule differences involved. In the latter, contrastive analysis based on generative phonology provides one solution to this problem. (See Hoffer for a basic treatment of this subject.)

(2) "The embedding problem is to find the continuous matrix of social and linguistic behaviour" in which the dialects are used. Here we show that there are correlations between elements of the linguistic system, such as degree of Japanese influence on the person's English, and elements of the system of social behaviour, such as degree of retention of Japanese behaviour patterns. Strong evidence for the correlation is the concomitant variation of speech and behaviour; that is, as the Japanese influence on English declines, more American behaviour patterns are acquired. Needless to say, Hawaii is a perfect area in which to study this area.

(3) The evaluation problem is to find the subjective correlates of the differences in rules. Labov uses both conscious and unconscious subjective reactions of the informants to the linguistic variable. The most notable of low evaluations of a dialect difference is that for the lack of an r/l distinction in English. Linguistically naive English speakers often react to incorrect production with smiles or laughter. The evaluation of other differences is not as easy to establish.

In addition to the problem of describing the two dialects in one grammatical model, there is a problem not treated by Labov: while he deals with a hierarchical society with low-class speech, working-class speech, and so on, the problem in second language teaching is to teach a level of speech which will enable the student to function as efficiently as possible. To put it another way, the native speaker's reaction to the learner will be based on speech since, as Labov has shown, the economic class/speech level correlation is a strong one. We must investigate the rules of English to find which ones if unlearned could cause social difficulty for the learner.

2. One area I have been working on is stylistic phonological reduction rules. Before explaining them in terms of a generative phonology, a brief excursion into styles such as described by Joos' Five Clocks may help the understanding of some later remarks.

(a) One way of cataloging styles is to start with "rhetorical" style, in which the speech is a unit with

few or no contractions, all references fully specified, strictly controlled pronominal reference, few simplifications of consonant clusters, and so on. In written form, this is the style of scientific writing or any highly edited informational prose. The "consultative" style is used for informational conversations or less technical writing. Contractions are used; pronominalizations are more frequent, but they usually have a linguistic antecedent, and so on. This is the style of professional conversations or any formal conversation, for that matter. It may be the case that the purpose of English courses in an English-speaking country is to teach the consultative and rhetorical styles. To reach the number five, we could list the "colloquial," "casual," and "family" styles. "Colloquial" is used at chance meetings, among casual acquaintances, and the like; it uses more idioms, contractions, sentence fragments, and so on. "Casual" style is used among friends, relatives, and groups of one sort or another. In this style, subjects may be omitted (for example, "Went to town, huh?"), pronouns abound, and many words or phrases qualifying the statement are used; for example, "I feel like . . .," or ". . ., don't you think?" "Family" style is the maximally limited speech, including the above plus special words having meaning only for the intimates, and is speech which is interpretable mainly because of the familiar context. For example, a typical morning at our house may find this sequence:

/m:/
/m: čwant/
/bæ neks kɔfdiyet/
/m: mint/

This might be rendered in the consultative style as:

"Morning."
"Morning. What do you want?"
"Bacon and eggs. Is the coffee ready yet?"
"Yes. Just a minute."

The reason for this digression into stylistics should be readily apparent. The different styles are defined linguistically but correlate directly with different social situations. Consultative style is not appropriate between friends nor is casual style used in professional discussions. There are subjective reactions to inappropriate styles. Before a discussion of the reactions, a description of phonological reductions, one component of style, is appropriate.

(b) A generative phonology includes various kinds of rules which are too specialized to be explained in a few

minutes, but the types of operations they perform can be briefly stated as:

Sequential constraint rules which specify permitted sequences of features or feature sets. For example, English initial consonant before stop must be /s/· /spay/, /stey/, /skit/; Japanese vowel after /w/ is /a/.

Blank-filling rules fill in features left unspecified by other rules; some features of segments are predictable from the basic features. For example, English front vowels are non-rounded; Japanese back vowels are non-rounded.

Phonological rules change, delete, or add features or segments based on environment. For example, a glide is inserted after English tense vowels such as /iy/, /uw/; Japanese stem-final /r/ becomes /t/ before /t/ as in /ar+ta/ → /atta/.

Articulatory rules instruct the vocal apparatus to use specific points for certain features. For example, English apicals are usually backer than Japanese apicals.

Reduction rules are optional rules that apply to formal style products of the preceding rules and produce acceptable alternative pronunciations of a sentence. For example, English /n̆č ˈgow/ is the maximally reduced form of "Why don't you go?"; Japanese /de wa/ may be reduced to /dya/ as in /X dyanai/. Reductions may also affect a single segment; the best known example in English is the centering of non-stressed vowels, such as / ɔ̆tôw/ vs. / ɔ̆ tə̆ mæ̆tik/, /ôw/ vs. /ə̆/. A favorite example of heavy reduction is /čiyčet/ from "Did you eat yet?".

(c) One characterization of lower-class speech (in Labov's model) or of informal speech is that it uses many reduction rules. Rhetorical style uses few or none. Non-lower-class speech uses reduction to indicate less formality, or friendship, and so on. In other words, a move from consultative to colloquial or casual style indicates a change, however small, in interpersonal relations. Just as the use of a nickname, a reduced form, indicates friendship, a mother's use of all three names for her son indicates some hostility. It is amazing how much faster my son arrives if called "Stephen Mark Hoffer" rather than "Steve." The conclusion of this section is the specification of the "embedding" problem: variation in stylistic reduction rules is paralleled by a social variation in degree of formality. Most native speakers can use three styles--family, casual, and colloquial; educated speakers also handle the consultative. If the second language

learner handles only consultative style, then his ability to maneuver in the society may be limited.

3. Once the linguistic situation has been accurately described and the embedding problem specified, there still remains the crucial problem, the evaluation of differences or misapplications of correct rules such as the use of inappropriate styles. The particular example to be emphasized here is the subjective evaluation by native English speakers that Japanese speakers of English are too formal or distant or stand-offish. Granted this is a small point, but of such reactions are large reactions made. As a further digression, the American's early change to less formal style makes him seem rather pushy or adolescent to people with different social patterns. In either situation, the best style is the one in which people listen to what you say rather than how you say it. To return to the main point, the evaluation "too formal" rarely follows immediately the first meeting, where English speakers usually use the consultative style. Rather, as the American expects graduably decreasing formality, the continuation of the non-reduced speech is interpreted as a continuation of a business-like relation. In business and other situations where a psychological distance must be maintained, one main indicator of the distance is the avoidance of reduction rules. The "evaluation" is that certain reduction rules are correlated with decreasing formality and that the non-use of those rules is interpreted as a conscious attempt to remain formal. In actuality, research with several Japanese speakers of English indicates that they do not know the appropriate reductions. Although they are aware that Americans expect early informality, they have not been taught the appropriate usage. The pedagogical implications are not the main point here. The sociolinguistic description stops at Labov's "evaluation." One point that must be emphasized in conclusion is one DeCamp (p. 167) made recently: sociolinguistics is neither a separate theoretical discipline nor is it an extension of sociology to cover language; rather, it deals with the sociolinguistic aspects of general linguistic theory. The preceding presentation has been an attempt to show how some generative phonological rules under research have significant sociolinguistic implications in Japanese-English bilingualism. Let me repeat that Hawaii, with its tens of thousands of two-language speakers, is an excellent laboratory for a large-scale research project dealing with all sociolinguistic aspects of Japanese-English and American-Japanese.

References

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Discussion

1. The importance of honorifics as a feature of Japanese speech style was discussed. The fact that in some rural areas of Japan honorifics are not used among the peasant class was cited as one possible explanation for the general lack of honorifics in Hawaiian Japanese, where the rural influence is strong.

   Insofar as honorifics are used by the peasant class in Japan, their usage differs from honorific usage in the standard language.

   Honorifics occur most commonly in the speech of the lower upper and upper middle classes, supporting Labov's finding that the second stratum from the top is the group that uses the most "refined" language style. Also, the more educated strata are able to handle more stylistic varieties of their language.

2. The distinction between men's and women's speech was discussed. In Japanese stylistic differences based on sex are overt and are regularly recognized as a distinctive feature of the language. In English, on the other hand, while there are differences--largely lexical and intonational--they are much more subtle and have thus far received comparatively little attention.

3. A study of speech levels across cultures should include investigation of the native speaker's value judgments regarding appropriate levels for foreigners to use, as well as research into his general attitudes toward his own language. Language acquisition studies will be pertinent here. It was pointed out that while the foreigner regularly begins by learning

the consultative style of a foreign language and subsequently learns to handle the reduction rules if he acquires proficiency in less formal styles, the native speaker, who begins with the family and casual styles, is later really faced with "addition rules" as he acquires more formal styles.

In general, the foreigner's goal is only a passive control of the family and casual styles of the language he is learning, for purposes of recognition and comprehension, whereas in learning the consultative and colloquial styles he will be concerned with active production as well. Movies and comic strips, excellent sources of family and casual style samples, make useful second-language training materials for these levels.

4. Pause fillers and voice quality should also be investigated as features of language style and clues to foreign language absorption, but these are more difficult to treat. In particular, statements regarding voice quality continue to be largely impressionistic. Evidence suggests that voice quality is not genetic but rather acquired very early in life from one's immediate family.

5. Investigation of reduction rules in several languages has indicated that there may be a number of "natural reductions" and some universal constraints.

Sociolinguistic Factors Inhibiting Japanese-American Communication

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I would like to outline several research problems of a sociolinguistic nature which I am planning and, in a couple of cases, some preliminary findings and the resultant questions which they suggest need investigation. Most of the questions in which I am interested fall somewhere in an area cross-cut by language description, testing, and how these are related to individual development (acquisition) and diachronic change. Not knowing exactly the background and training of the participants in this conference, I am sure that what I have outlined here will seem alternatively pedantic, programmatic and unduly sketchy to various individuals. I hope that we will have time enough to discuss not only the areas of research

suggested here but also the assumptions and methodology behind them.

I. Description of semantic/sociolinguistic structure

I would like to assume the following: that any research aimed at explicating factors inhibiting communication must be concerned with basic structural descriptions of the communication system--and specifically that portion of the language usually labeled the semantic structure (I would include in this both what is usually defined as referential semantics and narrower sociolinguistic factors, although it is undoubtedly an empirical question whether or not they must be kept separate for descriptive purposes). It should be obvious that for foreigners learning Japanese, what is most different from, for example, English, and gives European-language-speakers the most trouble in learning, is the semantic structure of the language.

Semantic studies of the last two decades by anthropologists and linguists have given us a number of general principles and guidelines which we can profitably follow in describing the semantic structure of Japanese. Some of the things we know about semantic structure are:

(1) People speaking different languages, i.e., using different semantic structures, categorize by different arrangements of (different) criterial attributes. A very simple example: Japanese speakers split into two categories (at one level of analysis, anyway) "relatives" whom English-speakers group together in one category, i.e., "brothers."

(2) Semantic structure is productive; it is not just a static configuration of taxonomies as determined by criterial attributes. That is, just as on the syntactic level of language, the structure is such that it provides devices by which we can understand and produce a variety of novel utterances.

(3) Semantic structures can be formally described. That is, we can specify the necessary and sufficient conditions, in terms of criterial attributes, for the occurrence of any given paradigm or lexeme.

While we have a fair literature now concerned with the description of such concrete domains of "things" as "relatives" and "botanical items," we have very little in the way of descriptions of culturally defined "states" or "actions." However, just as for other semantic domains, it is obvious that speakers of two different languages

structure the "objective" criteria of behavior into different categories. They may even use the same aspect of behavior as components of mutually exclusive categories. To use a very simple example: when a cat waves its tail in Japanese he is yorokonderu, "happy," but when he does so in American-English he is okotteru, "angry." This is a trivial example but it illustrates my point: if such a simple usage is not predictable, how can we expect any translation veracity for more complex areas of categorization? In order to provide for translatability between the two languages, we need to know the formal definitions of okoru and yorokobu in Japanese and the similar definitions for what we consider to be their parallel categories in English. In other words, we need to specify the criteria by which Japanese-speakers recognize when an individual is any of the particular culturally-defined states.

The reason why so little work has been done in this area, as compared with lexemes which represent more concrete categories of "things," is that it is so very difficult to discover criterial attributes for such abstract categories. For example, it is fairly easy to discover the boundaries between processes like niru, itameru, yaku, wakasu, ageru, fukasu, taku, etc.; it is much more difficult to discover the significant components of categories like okoru and yorokobu, still more difficult for ones like on and giri, and most difficult to provide the necessary and sufficient conditions for the occurrence of members of paradigms like arigato, sumimasen, onegai shimasu, etc. To me, this area and the theoretical problems it presents are of the most interest.

In the coming year I have research plans, which include the investigation of three different topics which touch on problems involved in semantic description. They are: the "phatic communication" paradigm, sequences of which are mentioned above; idiophones or "onomatopoeic forms"; and the development of semantic concepts by children.

Phatic communication is interesting because of its wide divergence from the rules of use for similar forms in English and what must be their very, very abstract or "deep" nature. The obvious example, English "thank you" maps onto Japanese arigato: gozaimasu, osewasama, sumimasen, etc.; "excuse me" onto sumimasen, siturei simasita, etc. The obvious gaffe of Americans who come to Japan and use arigato: for every occasion illustrate nicely the lack of 1:1 fit among the different expressions. So we can't specify the "meaning" of these in terms of concrete referrents, nor "settings" in the usual sociolinguistic sense of the word. I have been reduced to trying to pin

it on emotional "sets," but trying to figure out how these can be formally specified and how these specifications can be recognized by anyone is another problem.

Onomatopoeic forms, or idiophones, are an interesting phenomenon theoretically because they strain both our notions of the "arbitrariness" of natural languages and challenge the idea of complete intertranslatability, or identical competence among the idiolects of one dialect or language. We know that these forms are one of the areas in Japanese which is semantically most "creative." Individuals make up new forms "off the tops of their heads." Because of their salience they would seem to be an important area to describe for the language generally. Perhaps still more interesting would be to see (1) what communication value they do have; (2) how we can characterize their use by the different age populations; (3) the extent to which they can be formally described; (4) whether they involve any universals of sound symbolism; (5) whether we can isolate elements of "intensification" or "duration" corresponding to reduplication or vowel length. After some preliminary analysis of the data on extant, institutionalized forms, I plan to construct tests which ask a sample of people to: (1) imagine and produce a form for how an "x" goes (using a wide variety of different referrents as "x"); then, (2) ask a different group of individuals to identify the "x" which the first group has characterized.

A third area in which I have been doing some work is the development of semantic concepts in children. Spontaneous speech data from children 2-2 1/2 years learning Japanese as a native language indicates that while it is still not possible to specify the "criterial attributes" or components of their concepts, it is possible to indicate some emergent domains:

(a) deixis or discriminations in space (kore, sore, are, . . .)
(b) aspects as they emerge in verb inflections
(c) process or onomatopoeic events (bun-bun, ju:, ba:, jiji, wan-wan)
(d) quantity (motto, mo: sukosi)
(e) identities (proper names)
(f) grammatical relational concepts

In addition, I have data which indicates a little bit about their learning the features of verbs, e.g. transitive/intransitive and ageru/kudasaru get mixed up. What we would like to know, returning to the points mentioned above, is what criteria they are using to form these concepts, how they differ from adults' concepts, and what features seem to be productive for them.

I plan, using picture tests, to try to get at the boundaries of these concepts and their salient features.

It is interesting to speculate whether or not there are some "basic" features to concepts which are learned earliest and perhaps determine the core meaning of a concept for adults.

II. In addition to formulating descriptions of what we think are the structures of any given language, it is becoming more imperative, in the light of current linguistic problems, that we devise tests of our descriptions. I would like to discuss now what I think is some interesting data revealed in the course of administering a test of a description of inflectional categories. It has uncovered further questions we must ask.

In 1957 Jean Berko did an innovative study testing mastery by children of the concepts underlying a number of inflectional forms for nouns and verbs in American-English. This is done by presenting a subject with a picture-situation, a nonsense word representing the picture, and a syntactic frame into which, in the context of the situation-stimulus represented by the picture, he is asked to provide an appropriate grammatical form. For example, in English a subject might be presented with a picture of one birdlike and then two birdlike forms and told:

This is a *wug.
Here is another one.
There are two of them.
There are two _____.

The form he is expected to provide, of course, is *<u>wugs</u>.

Using Berko's testing scheme as a model, I have worked up and administered to approximately 250 subjects a comparable test for Japanese. In English, nouns are inflected for number and verbs for a number of tenses. In the Japanese test we tried to incorporate as many of the inflectional forms for "verbs" and "adjectives" and their morphophonemic alternatives as possible, a total of 37 questions.

The categories of inflection which we tested for finally were:

(1) imperfect indicative
(2) perfect indicative
(3) presumptive (for verbs only)
(4) imperative (for verbs only)
(5) alternative
(6) gerund

(7) conditional
(8) negative
(9) passive
(10) causative
(11) passive-causative

In addition, we included a variety of canonical forms when possible, to get responses on formation of the various consonant and vowel stems. For example, on the negative-producing questions we invented the forms: *pakau (w-stem), *rakiru (vowel stem), *kutabu (b-stem) and *kamiku (k-stem).

The following is a sample of the kind of question on the test: A subject is shown a picture of an infant and a little girl and told:

kono akachan-wa *rokai	"this baby is rokai"
akachan-wa minna *rokai	"babies all are rokai"
kono one:san-wa mo: *rokakunai kedo chi:sai toki-wa yappari ___	"this older-sister is not *rokai any more but when small to be sure ____."

The form to be produced is, of course *rokakatta.

There are a couple of reasons for doing a test of this kind: Since one of the goals of the study of language acquisition is to discover what, if any, are characterizable as universal features of the process, we need data from tests like this one in as many languages as possible. However, another interesting motivation is simply to see to what extent adult responses are in conformity with ideal descriptions of the language's grammar. Although Berko found only a small amount of this kind of evidence in her data on English, it is very clear in the Japanese data that subjects do not produce responses conforming to the ideal grammatical descriptions of the language. This lack of conformity occurs on two levels:

(1) Production of forms involving syntactic devices rather than morphological ones. That is, subjects produced, for example, V + to instead of V stem + - eba; and adj + shi + adj. instead of adj. $stem_1$ + - tari + adj. $stem_2$ + tari.

In addition, some subjects went out of their way to avoid producing any inflection with the new form by using it in a syntactic construction with a familiar verb which they inflected. For example, on the basis of:

kono hito-wa *pakau kara warui hito des:
*pakatte-wa ikenai
instead of producing:
ii hito-wa *pakawanai
some people would use forms like:
*pakau no-o sinai

(2) While "ideal" grammatical descriptions of Japanese present us with a series of rules for morphophonemic changes in stems and inflectional endings, the results of this testing show that there is no confirmation of these descriptions from individual behavior. That is, while the ideal descriptions of Japanese prescribe that a verb such as yobu "call," a b-stem consonant verb, should form a perfect or gerund by "changing" the "b" to an n and voicing the initial consonant of the inflectional ending, these data indicate that people are not using this kind of rule in their inflectional productions. Instead, they are using a variety of different kinds of rules. For example, the b-stem verb turned up in the negative as:

*kuta{bu / bi / ba} nai	*kuta{bura / sa / basa} nai	*kutanai
		*kutawanai

The results and their implications are much more complex than I can fully discuss here, but I must note that so far the discrepancy between traditional descriptions of ideal rules for morphophonemic variation and what people actually do does not seem to be reducible to a competence/performance distinction; nor does it seem explainable in terms of social or regional dialect. Idiolect or individual differences look to be the best explanation for them, though there are a number of instances where the same individual uses a variety of rules for forms which could otherwise be assumed to have the same base form.

The implications of these two kinds of anomalous responses by subjects are obvious for linguistic description. Instead of attributing one form to a single "deep" structure somewhere, for all the speakers of a language, we must account for a lot of different models being used by individuals. In addition, it gives us a rich field for inquiry into just why these phenomena should have occurred in this way: why, in an "agglutinative" language like Japanese, should syntactic devices be extant and in many cases so salient for native speakers? Our descriptions of Japanese have assumed that inflection is a very productive device in the language. Why is it relatively unproductive for so many people? What does this imply for language change? Is it possible that the inflectional paradigm has become, or is in the process of becoming,

"fossilized" and unproductive? If this is so, for what proportion of the population does it hold? How can these speakers be characterized? What other linguistic or sociolinguistic features of their language systems can be used to predict the extent to which inflection vs. syntactic devices is productive for them? How did they get these structures, i.e., how did they learn them? One of the objectives of this study was to find out the sequence of learning the categories of concepts behind the forms, and there is data which indicates that for children, units which have been analyzed by linguists as inflectional are seen as syntactic units. For example, one of the questions on our test was:

kono kimono-wa *kukokunai kedo kono kimono-wa _____.	"This kimono is *kukokunai but this kimono is (*kukoi)."

Most of the adults produced varieties of *kukoi, but many children, especially those of the youngest group (i.e., 3-5), produced *kukoku aru, a response which indicates that they did not have inflection, as a device, firmly under control, or alternatively, had not formed a grammatical concept "inflection." This is supported by data from children's spontaneous speech.

For further research I conceive a follow-up study, which will try to pinpoint for a limited sample of subjects, the extent to which inflection vs. other patterns is grammatical.

III. The third topic exemplifying what I think are interesting research problems of a sociolinguistic nature for Japanese involves the study of language borrowing, relexification and language creolization.

At the present time there is something of a small revolution going on in the thinking of linguists about the nature of "creole" languages. Is a "creole" a language which has emerged from a "pidgin" and evolved an augmented lexicon? Or can a language also become a creole by simply undergoing massive relexification in a contact situation? Should we perhaps talk about the process of creolization and the degree to which various languages are amenable to the phenomenon in a contact situation? Are there any universals in a language borrowing and creolization situation?

If we reserve the term "creole" only for those languages which emerge from contact with altered grammatical patterns, what justification do we have for

considering those languages which only relexify to be included in our definition of "creole?"

I would like to offer some data from some preliminary research on the Japanese-English contact situation in considering these questions. We all know that for the last one hundred years, ever since the opening of the country to communication with Europeans, Japanese-speakers have been borrowing from European languages, and since the end of WW II the process has intensified considerably, especially augmented by the bilingualism encouraged by second-language-training in the schools. While we must ultimately refer the motivation for borrowing and relexification to social-psychological factors, I would here like to consider the implications of the process for the structure of the language as a whole, particularly on the semantic and grammatical levels.

Borrowing can be defined rather clearly as taking over a lexeme from another language in conjunction with adopting a new "thing" or concept from another culture. It is one of about four alternatives when faced with "new" items in the contact situation. At different periods of the Japanese-expansion process, we see two of these strategies: e.g., baseball--<u>yakyu</u>: and <u>be:subo:ru</u>. In contrast to borrowing, however, relexification involves "borrowing" lexemes from a foreign language for things and concepts which are familiar to the culture and for which "native" terms already exist.

It is an obvious observation that when speakers of one language borrow--whether "new" or "replacement" lexemes--from a foreign language, they will incorporate them into the structure of their own language, not only phonologically and semantically, but also grammatically. That is, a new lexical item entering the language consciousness of a speaker of a language will be perceived phonologically in terms of the phonological structure of his native language, semantically in terms of the semantic domains and their structure, and syntactically it will assume a function analogous to that of the rest of his lexemes. However, it also happens that the process of incorporating new elements into his system will cause subtle changes in the structure itself. For example, we have already as early as 1950 a statement by Bloch of how the phonological system of a native Japanese-speaker who has a mastery of foreign words is different from that of one who does not. Also we know the "new" status of /ź/ in English as a result of loans from French like /garaž/ and /ruwž/.

My interest in the phenomena of language change in Japanese due to contact, especially with English, has

derived largely from the exciting work of C. O. Frake on Zamboangueno, a "creole" language of the Philippines, which was the result of contact between Spanish and an indigenous Philippine language in the sixteenth century. Frake noticed that the source of lexical items of the creole language was divided between the indigenous Philippine language and Spanish. In attempting to account for the distribution of lexemes between the two source languages he found that for "adjectives" or modifiers, in almost all cases the unmarked lexeme had come from Spanish and the marked member of the pair from the indigenous Philippine language.

This immediately poses a question for us in terms of universals of language contact and borrowing: in the sixteenth century Spanish-Philippine contact situation, Spanish was obviously the socially dominant language; could it be that in all situations of contact and borrowing, the socially "dominant," lending language will provide unmarked categories and the borrowing language the marked ones? Interested in the current Japanese-English situation, I decided that it would be an ideal situation for testing at least one case. What I wanted to determine was: where loans are being made for already existing lexemes, are they in the marked or unmarked member of the set?

The way I have been proceeding is as follows: using TV tapes and magazines as sources for foreign loans--since they give a wide range of levels of formal vs. informal, colloquial vs. intellectual, types of speech and a variety of speech situations--I have had informants go through a limited (so far) sample of these and pull out all of the foreign-derived words. Then, for each adjective-modifier, the following frames are applied: (1) What is the opposite?; (2) What is a synonym?; and (3) Use it in a sentence (to find how it is being used syntactically). The results I have obtained so far for Japanese bear out Frake's findings for Zamboangueno, i.e., we can recognize intuitively that in almost all cases the category into which the foreign lexeme has moved is the unmarked. The only ones that look doubtful are #6 and #13, but this may be dependent on context. Also, in almost all instances (except for #6 and #13) the only opposition was a native word.

English original	Loanword	Elicited Japanese synonym	Elicited opposite
1. deluxe	derakkusu	go:ka	somatu
2. best	besuto	saizen	saiaku
3. veteran	beteran	ro:renka	shoshinsha
4. charming	cha:mingu	miwakuteki	X ja nai
5. delicate	derike:to	sensai	zubutoi
6. dry	dorai	yo:ki	uetto/jimejime
7. hot	hotto	atui	tumetai
8. open	opun	hiraita	simeta
9. romantic	romanchikku	ku:so:teki	gensituteki
10. sharp	sha:pu	surudoi	nibui
11. sexy	sekusi	iroke-no-aru	iroke-no-nai
12. soft	sofuto	yawarakai	katai
13. short	sho:to	mijikai	rongu/nagai
14. top	toppu	daiichi	saigo

This data is based on the responses of only a few informants and there are still a great number of methodological problems involved in working out firm conclusions, but it raises some interesting questions: chiefly, it looks as if this process may be a universal of borrowing situations. But how far will the process go? The fact that informants can give "synonyms" for the foreign-derived lexemes indicates that they have not replaced the indigenous terms completely. How can we specify when borrowing will become relexification?

Let us look at another area of the semantic structure of the language in order to clarify the question a little. If we think about it, it becomes obvious that all lexemes borrowed are, in some sense "new" to the people who borrow them. From checking a small part of the data now available, it is clear that those lexemes whose "newness" cannot be accounted for in terms of their referentage are new in the sense that they elaborate the semantic or sociolinguistic component of the language on the "politeness" or "prestige" dimension. With reference to the two general classes of loanwords we can set up--i.e., those which are new in terms of social or connotative meaning, and those which are new in that they can be distinguished referentially--I think the following are alternative possibilities for how borrowing can turn into relexification:

A. Loanwords with distinguishable referential features

It appears from just the small amount of data I have looked at so far, that the dimension which seems to differentiate a lot of the new lexemes which come into the language and elaborate old, already established domains, is one of "foreignness." That is, the new forms are

marked for how the new thing is different from the old in terms of its origin. For example, in the clothing domain, when items of European clothing and the foreign words for them were introduced, the irui domain had to undergo a mitosis: near the top of the taxonomy a distinction was made for yo:fuku as opposed to wafuku, which till then had not been necessary. Relexification can be expected if (should we say when?) people in Japan stop using wafuku and the items of clothing as well as their lexemes go out of the general lexicon. Then we might say that the wafuku half of the domain had "atrophied"; only the yo:fuku half would be left, and, interestingly, since there would be no further need for the wafuku/yo:fuku distinction, yo:fuku might also drop out of the lexicon.

B. Loanwords differentiated in terms only of "prestige"

This class of loanwords is not marked for "foreignness" of some referential attribute, but only connotatively. Probably the example par excellence of this kind of loanword is the set of "adjectives" in the example above. It seems from all evidence that the only difference between the native and the borrowed lexemes is the element of "prestige" derived in the use of the loanword: people who use lots of gairaigo are only doing so to be haikara, according to one of my informants.

It seems that the following is as good a speculation as any about the process by which lexemes of this class can replace the native lexemes: (1) A loanword is introduced which gets used in complementary distribution with a native word in certain specified situations or settings. We can specify its meaning quite well simply by identifying those settings in which it is used. I have not yet worked this out for specific lexemes, but it is occurring widely in "kind-of" taxonomies; e.g. dorinku is replacing nomimono at the top of the domain of "drinks," but only in certain as yet unspecified settings. (2) Those settings in which the loanword is used have some element of extra "prestige." By using the loanword in other settings, speakers can also confer some of the prestigefulness upon themselves.

If situation 2 does not occur, then we simply have a situation where relexification does not occur completely and we just get a lot of borrowings in the language.

The final question I would like to consider is one I mentioned at the outset: how, with simply a process of relexification, could grammatical change take place in a language? There has been some speculation in the past about how Chinese, and possibly English, relative to

other Indo-European languages, got to be relatively isolating, and the suggestion has been made that it may have been due to "creolization." Perhaps the Japanese-English contact situation can give us some clues as to how such a process takes place.

I noticed, in looking at the source sentences in the texts, and from elicitation, that, of course, as we would expect, when lexemes are borrowed they are "restructured" in terms of their grammatical function in the recipient language. Moreover, they often do not become members of the same grammatical class as the lexemes they replace. The most noticeable example of this that I have to date is from the inflected class of adjectives (or modifiers).

As you know, there are several ways of forming a modification relation in Japanese: modif-N, modif-no-N, modif-na-N, infl. adj-N, modif-teki-na-N, modif-no-yo:-na-N, modif-fu:-na-N, modif-no-aru-N. We can break down loanword modifiers into whether they form their modifying relation in the same way as the lexeme they replace or in some other way, and if so, how. Thus, the 17 adjectives, or modifiers, for which I have information now are distinguished as follows:

Replacing modifier of same class	Replacing modifier of different class
cha:mingu	erochikku-na (iroppoi)
derakkusu	furesshu-na (atarasii)
derike:to	hotto-na (atui)
dorai	sha:pu-na (surudoi)
uetto	sho:to-na (mijikai)
ereganto	sofuto-na (yawarakai)
fansi	uetto-na (simeppoi)
romanchikku	sekusi-na (modif-no-aru-N)
	toppu-na (modif-N)

Eight formed the expression in the same way as the lexeme they were replacing, i.e., modif-na-N; but seven replaced inflecting adjectives, and themselves moved into the modif-na-N class.

Since this is all still a hypothesis, what I would like to do is construct a series of tests to discover for a substantial population sample:

(1) How foreign lexemes are being incorporated into the semantic and grammatical structures of individual Japanese-speakers; and at the same time

(2) Whether these borrowings will completely replace existing forms or co-exist with them over time.

Discussion:

1. The question was raised as to whether we are yet equipped to handle semantic fields with anything resembling a solid methodology. If we agree with Labov that we should move from the known to the unknown, it may prove more productive to confine our theoretical conclusions to the phonological and morphological areas. Professor Sanches, however, felt that there was a basis for moving ahead in the semantic area. In particular she mentioned her interest in the metaphor and extension rules developed recently in connection with work done on kinship terminologies.

2. Regarding the testing data presented, it was pointed out:
   a. that with a long history of borrowing only into the noun class, there is a question as to whether inflected verbs and adjectives are productive categories for the Japanese, and therefore whether the expectations were justified.
   b. that the choice of a nonsense form like *<u>pacau</u> with initial p- (non-occurring in the Japanese verb class) almost guaranteed that the word would be treated as a non-inflecting loanword by the Japanese.
   c. that a tight methodology is desirable in drawing conclusions about individual variations in the nonsense-word inflectional forms that were elicited. Did these different forms derive from different models, or from incorrect rules--or both?

3. Regarding borrowing in general, it was pointed out that languages treat borrowings differently: English, for example, regularly inflects the words it borrows. In Japanese, some recent borrowings have moved into the inflected -<u>ru</u> verb category, but this is a distinct departure from the regular Japanese borrowing pattern. This type of recent borrowing seems to be more prevalent among students. Mentioned in this general connection was Greenberg's theory that in the initial stage of borrowing noun-like words are taken over, that after vast numbers of these have entered the language, borrowings begin to move into inflectional categories, and finally, grammatical items are borrowed, but this development is exceedingly slow. Also mentioned again was the contrast between borrowing into standard Japanese as compared with Hawaiian Japanese, and the interest and value that such a study would have.

Language Change and Social Change

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This paper will focus on the changes that took place during the past hundred years in Japan and the changes likely to occur in the future, with a major emphasis on language changes resulting from changes in the society. The effect of planned changes in certain aspects of the language on other aspects of language and society will also be considered. While it is not my intention to discuss the relationship between language change and social change in general, but to deal rather specifically with the case in Japan, the implications are likely to be relevant to many of the developing nations.

Roughly speaking, there appear to be two major directional forces of social change when a traditional, non-Western society comes into contact with the West and attempts to modernize. One force works toward broadening the sphere of personal interaction from a limited personal circle to a wide range of impersonal interactions. The other force works towards change in interpersonal relationships from a hierarchical one to a more egalitarian one. The former is an inevitable force associated with commerce, industrialization and technological advancement, while the latter appears to be a more consciously planned force associated with the acceptance of Western humanitarian values. Both tend to lead to the homogenization of different languages in the world by filling in unique, language specific gaps in each of the languages.

Let us consider first the force towards social change from interactions within the primary group to those within the secondary group. In primary group interactions, one knows the age, status, family relationships, personality, past history of the individual one interacts with, while within the secondary group, one interacts impersonally with a great number of people very briefly, often just once, such as in giving directions to a stranger on the street. The style of speech is likely to be quite different in the two kinds of interaction in most languages.

Hajime Nakamura, in his book Ways of Thinking of Eastern People (1964) lists among some of the characteristic Japanese ways of thinking, a strong tendency to emphasize a limited social nexus, and nonrationalistic tendencies. He makes his points by giving many examples from the Japanese language. For instance, in referring to the omission of the subject of the sentence, he states:

. . . Japanese frequently omit the subject, and this too may have something to do with the inexact character of the Japanese mode of thought in general. In such a case, even though the subject is omitted, we usually find it naturally suggested or can easily infer what it is by referring to the linguistic context, or by looking at the situation in which the utterance is made. But it cannot be denied that at times, when the situation is not completely clear, the omission of the subject makes the meaning ambiguous and causes misunderstanding. . . .

That the Japanese people can dispense with the subject of their linguistic expression is, I think, due to the fact that the intuitive understanding of the scene referred to in their discourse is usually attained beforehand by the close personal bonds and nexus with others. Therefore, the necessity of clearly indicating the subject occurs only in those cases where some doubt about the intuitive understanding of the subject arises. (In other words, a logically correct assertion of the 'obvious' sounds harsh to the Japanese people.) (Nakamura, 1964, p. 535)

To the close bonds in interpersonal relationships given by Nakamura may be added the fact that the status oriented verb phrases in Japanese help one to guess the omitted grammatical subject.

The omission of grammatical subjects when understood, actually is not a unique phenomenon to Japanese, while the frequency with which this is done may be. Vygotsky, who believes that inner speech develops from egocentric speech of the child, states:

> . . . as egocentric speech develops it shows a tendency toward an altogether specific form of abbreviation: namely, omitting the subject of a sentence and all words connected with it, while preserving the predicate. This tendency toward predication appears in all our experiments with such regularity that we must assume it to be the basic syntactic form of inner speech. (p. 139)

He points out that external speech between two people who are in close psychological contact approximates inner speech in that the role of speech is reduced to a minimum with a tendency to predication. He cites an example from Tolstoy's Anna Karenina:

> 'No one heard clearly what he said, but Kitty understood him. She understood because her mind incessantly watched for his needs.' We might say that her thoughts, following the thoughts of the dying man, contained the subject to which his word, understood by no one else, referred. (p. 140) (Italics mine)

The explanation Nakamura gives for the omission of the subject by Japanese in "close bonds and nexus" then finds support in Vygotsky. What makes Japanese different is that the omission of the grammatical subject is permissible in writing. In this respect, Japanese may be considered as not having fully attained the level of "written speech" as opposed to inner speech. Vygotsky contrasts the two as follows:

> Inner speech is condensed, abbreviated speech. Written speech is deployed to its fullest extent, more complete than oral speech. Inner speech is almost entirely predicate because the situation, the subject of thought, is always known to the thinker. Written speech, on the contrary, must explain the situation fully in order to be intelligible. The change from maximally compact inner speech to maximally detailed written speech requires what might be called deliberate semantics--deliberate structuring of the web of meaning. (p. 100)

> Communication in writing relies on the formal meanings of words and requires a much greater number of words than oral speech to convey the same idea. It is addressed to an absent person who rarely has in mind the same subject as the writer. Therefore, it must be fully deployed; syntactic differentiation is at a maximum; and expressions are used that would seem unnatural in conversation. (p. 142)

Written Japanese, however, does differ from spoken Japanese. Until the end of the last century, all writing was in bungo-bun or written style, originated in the 10th century, and this style continued to be used in legal documents until the end of World War II. It was through the introduction of Western literature that Japanese literary people became aware of the closeness of written and spoken styles in the Western languages, and this prompted them to use kogo-bun or the narrative-conversational style in writing. This coordinated spoken-written style, or genbun-itchitai, however, in my view did not accomplish its objective of coordination. For, in

reality, a new style of writing resulted, which I will call translation style. Thus, a new split developed between written Japanese and spoken Japanese, the spoken language tending to resist the changes from Indo-European influences that had been adopted into the written language.

The two major characteristics of translation style are: (1) the development of a new type of passive sentence which uses inanimate nouns as its subject (e.g. Kono hon wa hiroku yomarete iru) as opposed to the traditional Japanese adversative passive (e.g. Chichi ni shinareta) (Howard, 1968, 1969; Niyekawa, 1968); and (2) the inclusion of the grammatical subject in sentences even when the subject is understood. These characteristics resulted from close literal or grammatical translations of Western literature, and while such a style has been found unpalatable in casual conversation, it gradually came to be absorbed into the Japanese language. Through the new style, it had become possible to describe and report, for instance, scientific experiments more accurately and objectively. No longer would one interpret the sentence "Kono jikken de wa kaeru wa denki de shokku o ataerareta nochi kaibo sareru" (In this experiment, the frog will be dissected, after being given an electric shock.) as having an emotional overtone expressing sympathy for the poor frog! Thus the translation style became not only the preferred style in scientific and philosophical writing, but more and more articles, stories, and advertisements for popular consumption in newspapers and magazines are showing translation style characteristics.

In this connection, I should mention that we know of no psychological study nor systematic linguistic analysis so far that distinguishes between the traditional passive and the translation style passive. We maintain that the traditional Japanese passive is adversative and that the translation style passive developed analogically from it (Howard, 1967). We also maintain that the adversative passive is acquired earlier in life during the language acquisition period (before puberty), while the translation passive is learned during the course of formal education and through reading. Our first claim about linguistic change in the passive was tested in a larger study on the influence of language on perception, cognition and second language learning (Niyekawa, 1968). Twenty-two Japanese short stories that were used in a study on translation were rank ordered (1) according to the year of birth of the authors, ranging from 1864 to 1925, and (2) according to the year of publication of the stories, ranging from 1889 to 1954. Relative frequency of occurrence of the translation style passive (inanimate noun as the subject) and the adversative passive was obtained by dividing the

total number of occurrences by the number of pages for each story. It was hypothesized that the more recently born authors and the more recently published short stories would show a higher frequency of usage of the translation style passive. Statistical tests using the rank order correlation fully supported the hypotheses at the .01 level of significance. On the other hand, there was no significant correlation between either index of time and the relative frequency of use of the adversative passive, indicating that the use of the adversative passive is independent of time, and has not shown any significant increase or decrease over the 60 year period. Our claim that the translation style passive is a recent innovation was thus indirectly supported. Our other claim concerning the order of acquisition of the two passives needs yet to be tested. Such a study would throw some light on the problem of distinguishing the effects of learning by listening and by reading, and the process of integration of the two in the growing chil

The preceding lengthy discussion on translation style points out that the coordination of spoken and written styles, supposedly accomplished in the 1890's, actually just replaced one written style by another, a classic one by a modern one. The replacement, however, can be assumed to have contributed to the scientific advancement in Japan.

Following the impact of Western literature in its original and translated forms, probably the greatest influence on the Japanese language has been that of radio and TV. As in writing, communication by radio and TV is directed toward a person at a distance. It is also communicating with people in a secondary group whom the communicator does not personally know. Yet one essential difference from written communication is that the channel of communication is auditory and visual. Distinguishing homonyms by the characters used is impossible in this type of communication. The speaker has to carefully select words that have little ambiguity. Interestingly enough there are other factors that put similar pressure on the avoidance of use of words that have homonyms. One is the reduction in the number of permissible kanji and the other is the computer, which cannot print out well in kanji. Thus, one may foresee a trend toward greater use of foreign loanwords (and possibly yamato-kotoba?) and reduction in Chinese compound words, so abundant in homonyms.

If the past century had its greatest impact on syntax, the present is on vocabulary, and the future may be on the writing system. It is impossible to keep up with translating the thousands of new technical terms in this age

of information explosion, especially when speedy transmission and diffusion of information is emphasized. For instance, the same UPI news is received by a number of newspaper companies, radio and TV stations at the same time. It is not just one official agency being responsible for the translation and dissemination of the news. The news has to be translated immediately and announced or printed in a matter of a few hours. When there is a new term for which no standardized translation exists, uniformity in the content of information can be best achieved by using the foreign word untranslated. It is the need for speedy communication that makes translation of technical terms difficult. Hence English words are just transliterated into Japanese.

Looking at the whole area of borrowing, translation and coining of new terms, one may raise many interesting researchable questions. For instance, why is "double steal" in baseball jūtō, while "double punch" in boxing is daburu panchi, and "double fault" in tennis is daburu fuoruto (Bailey, 1962)? Is the popularity of the particular sport or the date of introduction of the term relevant here in determining whether or not the foreign word gets translated or transliterated? Is frequency of usage the major factor in deriving abbreviated foreign phrases, such as zenesuto from "general strike," afureko from "after recording" and atereko possibly from "ateru" and "recording," in the same manner as kokuren is derived from the Japanese two-word phrase kokusai rengo? The reduction of two-word phrases into four syllabics, two syllabics for each, may become a consistent morphological rule for abbreviation.

Besides examining how new words get adopted and integrated into the existing language, we should also investigate the consequences of various types of adoption. Some of the problems will be discussed in relation to unexpected consequences of planned changes later in this paper.

Some people predict that kanji will eventually be eliminated completely. According to a calculation based on the record since the Meiji era, if the trend in the decreased use of kanji continues at the same rate, kanji will go out of existence in 230 years (Gengo Seikatsu, 1964, No. 5, p. 7).

Long before such a stage is reached, however, the direction of writing may change from the vertical to horizontal. Already many students take notes sideways not only in science courses, but in other courses as well. Some businessmen write their letters horizontally too. What effects will such a writing system have on the

language? For one thing, tsuzukeji and hentaigana (deviate kana) will have no place in such a system. Abandoning tsuzukeji means writing each character and letter separately, as in print. Ending the sentence in gozaimashita and even mashita may be found to be cumbersome when writing horizontally. Is it not possible then that horizontal writing may lead to shorter, more businesslike and terse letters, reinforcing the trend towards less personal interactions?

It will be much easier to insert foreign proper nouns in their original form when horizontal writing is used because (1) one does not have to turn the paper, and (2) the name can be represented in Roman script rather than the clumsier katakana. Similarly, it may be easier to spell out in Roman script a borrowed English word such as "information" than write it in katakana [イ ン フ ォ ー メ イ シ ョ ン]. The mixing of English words in Japanese writing may lead to pronouncing the English words as in English rather than in the accepted Japanified versions (for example, pronouncing [l ndə n] rather than [rondon] for "London," or handling English consonant clusters without epenthetic vowels, as in [frʌstréyšan] in place of [furasutore:šon] for "frustration"). This may lead to two coexisting phonological systems among the educated even when they are essentially speaking Japanese with just borrowed words.

The second force referred to earlier, that is, the force working towards change in interpersonal relationships, has essentially the element of democratization. It attempts to enforce the Western egalitarian value system. In comparison to the first force which was natural and inevitable with Western contact, this appears to have more of an officially planned element in it. The introduction of compulsory education, which gave equal educational opportunities to all children, led to the standardization of kanji and okurigana by setting up the Kokugo Chosa Iinkai in 1902. While the Council has changed its name and function slightly over the years, the present Shin Kokugo Shingikai has handled the reduction of kanji in postwar Japan. As was mentioned earlier, the reduction was a planned change towards simplification, and while it had many advantages, it also has created a number of problems. The most serious one probably is that productivity in neologism by the use of kanji has become drastically reduced. The situation is equivalent to having a large number of Greek and Latin stems and suffixes removed from the English language.

Another planned change in this direction may be referred to as a "regression towards the mean" approach in the use of keigo. On the one hand the uppermost class of

keigo for individual members of the royal family has been reduced, while on the other hand there is no longer a condescending or "talking down" tone to official government forms. Teachers in school have also followed the government in using masu kotoba, in place of regular imperatives like kinyuu seyo or kake, in the instructions of examinations. These, however, are conscious forces, and their success in establishing a more egalitarian interpersonal relationship is still doubtful. Certainly the effects are to some extent visible, but the process is indeed very slow. Here we see an effort towards bringing about social change through language change. The slowness, however, is not because the language lacks influence but because of social resistance towards adoption of the new language system. The student may have used egalitarian expressions in relating to his classmates, upperclassmen and teachers alike during his college years. However, when he enters a company as a new employee, he ends up succumbing to the existing pressure to preserve the old hierarchical system in language and behavior within the company. Similarly, while women students may use a less feminine language during their student days, they may make more of an effort to conform to the feminine norm once out of college.

While the style of language involving honorifics and masculine-feminine distinction may be slower in changing as compared with the change in the lexical system, "equality of the sexes" may have some consequences. This, however, is not so much planned language change as language change resulting from social change. For instance, the fact that women enter professions previously monopolized by men may create a need for a device to indicate the sex of the person being talked about. No longer can one assume that a professor is necessarily a male. While the use of kare, kanojo at present appears to have some derogatory connotation, the connotation may change over time when the use becomes less optional than it is now. In this connection, the rules for the use of the causative sase may change drastically over the years when the hierarchical interpersonal relationship gets de-emphasized. We already note such use in "Gakusei wa kyōju o toire nimo yukasenakatta," 'The students would not even let the professor go to the toilet.' The semantic connotation of a causative sentence may also change with time. Ten years ago a sentence like "Gakusei wa sensei ni shiken no kijitsu o enki saseta" may have suggested that the students threatened and forced the teacher to postpone the examination, while ten or twenty years from now, it may not differ much from "Okāsan wa Tarō o isha ni ikaseta," 'Mother sent Taro to the doctor.' The change in meaning may not be noticeable later. Unless we measure the meaning of these in the

process of change, the semantic connotation may be as hard to recover later as the pronunciation of words centuries ago on the basis of written records.

To summarize, I have discussed some of the major changes in the Japanese language in the past hundred years, the causal factors, as well as some of the planned and unplanned consequences of such changes. The types of change in the language involve the syntactic, semantic, lexical and writing systems. These observations of the past and present and predictions for future changes in Japan may have great implications for other developing nations that use languages sharing some of the characteristics of Japanese. While some of the changes, especially the syntactic ones, may be considered as "improvements" in terms of scientific advancement, others, even when planned, have brought about serious problems with the supposed "improvement." The predicted changes in the future presented here are guesses based on the direction of changes up to the present, and are by no means necessarily considered desirable changes. The need to keep abreast in the age of technology should not be the overriding factor in determining future language policies. If some of the predictions materialize, we may not only be severing our ties with past Japanese cultural history, but also be predicting our future on the clearly false assumption that the cognitive capacity of the human, in this case the Japanese, is too limited to cope with the complexity of the speaking, reading and writing systems of Japanese which people in the past were able to master.

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Discussion

1. The frequent omission of the subject in the casual style of English was mentioned. This is now frequently used in TV commercials as a device to promote familiarity with the viewer.

2. Regarding the student movement in Japan, it was pointed out that at no time during the recent turmoil was any conscious proposal or demand made by the students concerning language change. While professors and administrators were sometimes addressed as kisama and omae during the demonstrations, this was probably a reflection of the psychological power status of the moment, but the students retained hierarchical personal relationship pronouns within their own group and made no general recommendations for changes.

3. However, social change is reflected in language change and languages adjust to fill developing needs. As interaction between the sexes increases, there will probably be a greater need to specify the sex of referents. For example, -kun, which formerly was used only by men, is now regularly used in reference to males. Perhaps through the influence of English, there seems to be an increasing tendency to indicate plurality in Japanese, through such devices as parenthetical expressions in the written language and the use of -tati as a pluralizer.

4. While the writing reforms recommended at the end of World War II have had a lasting effect, the linguistic recommendations that the use of honorifics be curtailed and that the Japanese language become more egalitarian had no effect whatsoever. Such changes seem to occur not as an antecedent to--but as a reflection of--social change.

5. The use of kanji in the age of the computer was discussed. Will there be a movement for further reduction in the number used, or even for total abolition in favor of romanization?

6. The possibility that changes in the phonology (for example, vowel splits) might occur in Japanese to disambiguate homonyms was suggested as something that has occurred in other languages.

The Problem of Achieving Mutual Understanding Between Japanese and Americans[1]

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A hypothesis which seems intuitively reasonable is this: The greater the distance between two cultures in the personality, attitudes and values of the people, the higher the probability for misunderstanding.

The psychological literature was searched in an attempt to determine where Japanese and Americans were in distance from each other. Then given a concept of distance, has anyone shown that misunderstanding is a function of cultural differences?

First, what are the differences in personality between Japanese and Americans? Abate and Berrien (1967) have found high correlations in the range of r = .80 for stereotypes between the two cultures. The Japanese concept of the typical American personality is the same as Americans' concept of the typical American personality. Conversely, our concept of the typical Japanese personality is the same as their concept of the typical Japanese personality. However, the stereotypes do not match vereotypes. That is, when each American in the study was asked to describe his own personality, these self-reports were quite different from the stereotype--the picture of the typical American's personality. This discrepancy was even more extreme for the Japanese. Each Japanese in the study

viewed himself as being different from the personality of the typical Japanese.

Cattell and co-workers (1965a, 1965b) have found a remarkable similarity in basic personality structure across many cultures including the American,Japanese, Italian, German, French, British, and Indian. A factor analysis of the personality measure IPAT resulted in the same factors with about the same loadings from culture to culture. This basic personality pattern can be defined with primary source traits of A, affectothymia vs. sizothymia; B, intelligence; C, ego strength; E, dominance; F, surgency; G, superego; H, parmia, etc.

The evidence from Cattell supports a hypothesis of personality universals. While primary personality factors may be the same from culture to culture, factor levels will probably vary. For instance, when Japanese are contrasted with Americans, the latter tend to be more extroverted and active, but have less anxiety and sensitivity.

It is not as if the Americans had personality dimensions A, B, C; the Japanese had personality dimensions D, E, and F; and the Indians had G, H, and I. Rather, the dimensions are the same for any culture but where people are on any dimension will vary from culture to culture.

Misumi and Ando (1964) used the Morris' Value Scale and found that the Japanese life style shifted from 1949 to 1964 in the direction of both the American and Chinese life styles. Some studies have demonstrated no significant differences between Japanese and Americans in such personality traits as dominance, deference, abasement, and autonomy (Arkoff, 1964; Arkoff, Meredith, and Iwahara, 1962). Surprisingly, Japanese and Americans were similar in personality traits for which we would expect dramatic differences. However, Americans of Japanese heritage consistently showed significant differences on these traits when compared with Caucasians (Fenz and Arkoff, 1962). This suggests that the migrant population has preserved characteristics which have changed extensively in the parent culture.

In political attitudes, Kato (1961) has discovered wide differences between Japanese and American high school students. For instance, 80% of Japanese youth in the study disapproved of wiretapping by police as compared with disapproval from 35% of American youth. Seventy-six percent of American teenagers agreed that the most serious danger to democracy comes from Communists and Communist-dominated groups, but only 19% of Japanese youth agreed. For college students, McGinnies (1963) has concluded that

Japanese and Americans differ on many civil liberty issues. Again, it was surprising to find that Japanese college students in the early sixties had greater concern than American college students for censorship, freedom of speech, and fair employment practices.

Although many studies have shown differences between Japanese and Americans in personality, attitudes, and values, no one has yet shown a relationship between these differences and non-understanding between the two cultures. There may be a significant relationship, but it has yet to be demonstrated.

Nakazima (1959) has hypothesized that mutual understanding between countries is a function of understanding each other's language and cultural background. As a step in this direction he contrasted English with Japanese phonology, showing common errors in sound substitutions when Americans speak Japanese and Japanese speak English. Intuitively, it would seem that Nakazima was quite correct in suggesting that mutual understanding between countries can be facilitated by skill in using each other's language, and developing insight into the other country's cultural background. One critical problem is that achieving language skill has been a slow, tedious, painful process often resulting in failure for 66% of students (Carroll, 1960) even after several years of study.

We have developed evidence that suggests a biological theory of second language learning. That is, the human brain and nervous system may be wired, so to speak, to assimilate second language skills in a configuration which is patterned after first language learning. Since current teaching methods for second languages do not conform to a model of first language learning, the result is not only zero learning, but actually anti-learning behavior. After several years of study, most students have zero facility in listening, speaking, reading, and writing a second language. But more serious yet, these students develop a strong, negative reaction to second language learning.

Next, I would like to present a film which shows how rapidly listening skill in Japanese can be acquired by Americans when the method is adapted to a model of first language learning. The film is entitled, "Demonstration of a New Strategy in Language Learning," and is available in the United States from the Film Library at the University of California at Berkeley. The experimental research to document the effectiveness of this approach with children and adults has been reported in

the following studies: Asher, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1969a, 1969b; Asher and Price, 1967; and Kunihira and Asher, 1965.

The approach is called the learning strategy of the total physical response, and it contains three basic principles. The first is that listening skill should be developed to a keen level of competency before the student begins speaking. Listening skill seems to produce a "perceptual mapping" of the sound and grammatical features that are in the target language. This perceptual mapping then enables the student to gain a large magnitude of positive transfer to other language skills as speaking and, under certain conditions, reading and writing.

The second principle is that in the initial stages of listening training, foreign utterances should be synchronized with the action of the student's entire body. For instance, when the student hears, "Stand up, walk to the door, and open it!" he should respond immediately with the appropriate action. The pacing of this listening training should resemble a ping-pong game. The utterances from the instructor should manipulate student behavior so rapidly that there is no time for translation.

The third principle is that speaking should be delayed until there is a readiness to begin producing the foreign utterances. This readiness point should occur spontaneously and will vary somewhat from student to student. Readiness will be indicated when a student begins to press the instructor more and more for opportunities to speak.

Summary

One hypothesis is that misunderstanding is a function of the distance between two cultures in personality, attitudes, and values. The literature shows an array of differences on these three dimensions when Japanese are compared with Americans. However, evidence has not yet been developed to show that cultural distance is related to misunderstanding.

Another hypothesis is that mutual understanding is more apt to be achieved when one is fluent in the language of the other culture. The problem then becomes one of creating strategies for accelerating the learning of second languages. One strategy was based on a model of first language learning in which the student achieves a keen level of listening comprehension before he attempts to speak. This listening skill is acquired in a context

in which the student's entire body is synchronized with the foreign utterances he hears. For example, when the student hears "Run to the door and open it," he immediately responds with the physical action.

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Footnotes

[1] This paper is an expansion of the oral presentation to the Joint Japanese-American Conference on Sociolinguistics held at the East-West Center, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii, August 24-28, 1970.

The experimental research exploring the learning strategy of the total physical response was supported by Research Contract NONR 4817 (00), NR-154-257/12-8-64 from the Personnel and Training Branch of the Office of Naval Research.

Following Professor Asher's oral presentation, his film "Demonstration of a New Strategy in Language Learning" was shown. The discussion that followed was based on the film.

Discussion:

Questions were asked about the unnatural variety of Japanese used in the film; the feasibility of using this technique in teaching adults; the possibility of extending the method for teaching more abstract levels of language; and what research had been done subsequent to making the film in 1964, to prove the value of the approach in terms of students' later progress. Because all the Japanese examples in the film had similar patterning, there was a question as to how much of the utterances the children really comprehended. It was suggested that their responses could have been triggered by the recognition of the nouns and verbs only, because of the lack of contrast elsewhere.

In reply, Professor Asher stated that he would welcome suggestions for improving the corpus, but that the nature of the corpus itself would not in any way affect the method. However, since the method calls for constant success on the part of the student, the corpus is kept small, and no unfamiliar material, even for checking purposes, is ever introduced.

The fact that the students in the film were able to understand new combinations of familiar lexemes proved that they were learning, according to Professor Asher. Output, he pointed out, was greater than input. Professor Asher believes that this method is useful for teaching students of all ages, although an occasional individual may fight against an approach which is deliberately attempting to avoid translation. The addition of abstract vocabulary, he said, was simply a matter of finer tuning and did not require a change of method.

Professor Asher has continued research to a higher level, only in languages other than Japanese. In working with German students, he found they were able to cover in twelve hours the listening aspect of a 240-hour course that covered all the language skills.

According to this method of instruction, speaking is taught only after a student presses for it, subsequent to his acquisition of some degree of listening skill. Research on Japanese has not been carried to this stage.

III. Working Papers Presented by Japanese Participants
(Tuesday, August 25, 1970)

Expressive Culture and Implicational Culture
(Hyogen Bunka To Suisatsu Bunka)

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1. In the comparison of American culture and Japanese culture we can set up various points of view. From one point of view we can call American culture 'a culture of sin,' and Japanese culture 'a culture of shame' as has been pointed out by Ruth Benedict. This point of view does not of course seem to exhaust all the characteristics of both cultures.

For the past several years I have been engaged in contrastive studies of verbal expressions of English and Japanese. With the result of the studies on one hand and a broader view of culture on the other, it seems that we can set up another point of view from which we can see American culture as 'expressive' and Japanese culture as 'implicational.' This difference can be seen not only in verbal expression, but in some phases of nonverbal behavior and in some literary and other arts. Without the knowledge of the difference, both nations seem to be liable to misunderstand each other when they are engaged in communication.

The American (I always mean 'North American') people seem to like to be expressive in their behavior, and even to believe that they cannot expect to be understood if they are not expressive to the fullest extent. On the other hand, we Japanese people tend to regard full expressiveness to be rather childish, and value vague implication as mature. The exploration of the reason needs the help of cultural anthropology.

2. Differences in nonverbal behavior

(1) Facial expression. We Japanese usually wear expressionless faces, that is 'poker faces.' Before the war we men folk used to be educated not to give free expression to emotions. Free expression of emotions was considered to be base or feminine. The containment of emotions was, and perhaps is, a virtue with us men folk, and it may be connected with the old feudalism. When a little boy falls down and is going to cry because of pain, he is often scolded, Otoko dakara, naicha dame! ('Don't cry, because you are a boy!'). We have an old saying

Bushi wa kuwanedo takayôji ('The samurai proudly pretends to use a toothpick even if he is so poor that he has nothing to eat'). That is, the samurai should not express his suffering from poverty.

My impression is that the American people are very rich in facial expression.

(2) Body movement and gesticulation. When American people want to show endearment or respect, they give an embrace or a kiss. But we Japanese usually do nothing of the sort. The American people's gesticulation is not so great as the Italians', but is greater than that of the Japanese.

3. Differences in verbal behavior

In Japanese, love or affection is usually given no direct verbal expression. We believe that sincere emotion or respect should not be expressed directly. We have to show such feelings by nonverbal behavior, or by quite indirect verbal expression.

4. Differences in verbal expression

The following various types of (non)expression don't seem to have English equivalents.

(1) Deletion of the grammatical subject. It is a well-known phenomenon that the subject is quite often deleted in Japanese. I believe it was Professor Martin who asked us at the last Washington conference what word we use as the first person pronoun when we talk to ourselves. It seems we don't use any word. Toshio Iritani suggests that the phenomenon has some relation with the old feudalistic system. The system of personal pronouns and address names which is connected with the hierarchical social system was very complex, and the misuse of it was liable to cause trouble, so that the speakers avoided the use of the subject entirely (cf. Iritani, Kotoba no Seitai, NHK Books, 1968). The disuse of the first person pronoun seems to be further connected with the disinclination for self-assertion.

(2) Deictic pronouns. We often, at least oftener than Americans, use the pronoun are ('that') deictically where common nouns should be used in English. For example, Are o are shite kurenai ka? ('Will you do that for me with that?'). The hearer has to guess what are indicated by the two are's.

(3) Suggestive deletion. It is quite common to use apesiopetic expressions such as:

. . . desu keredo mo.
Watashi wa Yamada to môsu mono desu ga. ('My name is Yamada.')
Chotto o-negai ga arimasu keredo mo. ('I have a request.')
Ima chotto kirashite orimasu ga ('It is out of stock, now.')

In the following instances, the presupposed alternatives are not clear.

Tama ni wa eiga o miru no mo ii no. ('Sometimes it is not bad to see a movie, too.')
O-cha de mo nomi masen ka? ('Won't you drink tea, for instance?')

The typical present-day instance is the frequent use of Dômo! Dômo can be the initial word of various kinds of expressions:

Dômo (sumi masen) ('I'm much obliged.')
Dômo (arigatô gozaimasu) ('Thank you very much.')
Dômo (go-kurô sama) ('Thank you for your trouble.')
Dômo (hisashi-buri desu ne) ('It's a long time since I saw you last.')
Dômo (shitsurei shimashita) ('It has been impolite of me.')

We have to guess what is the deleted portion at every particular occasion.

(4) Vague expression. This is a deliberate way of avoiding 'childish' precise expressions.

Kore nanka dô desu ka? ('How about such as this?') instead of Kore (wa) dô desu ka? ('How about this?')

Ima chotto kirashite imasu. ('It is out of stock now.') In this instance, chotto literally means 'to some degree.' There can be no difference of degree in out-of-stockness from a logical point of view. But in Japanese, we feel obliged to use chotto to soften the harsh tone of refusal (cf. a 'down-toner').

Even in shopping the quantitative specification is deliberately made vague.

Enpitsu o jippon hodo kudasai ('Give me about ten pencils.')

Niku o 500 guramu bakari kudasai ('Give me about 500 grams of beef.')

We can further point out the following differences:
ichinen-han: 'eighteen months.'
han-nichi: 'twelve hours.'

The following type of English expression is quite foreign to Japanese:

1) With the rolling barrage going on in Maine, of course I was afraid for myself. Four automobiles were hit on opening day, but mainly I was afraid for Charley. I know that a poodle looks very like a buck deer to one of these hunters, and I had to find some way of protecting him.--John Steinbeck, Travels with Charley.

2) And if I went and tried to get someone from the farm they would tell me not to interfere, that the old man was best left alone when he got in one of his rages, . . .--Du Maurier, The Old Man.

5. Japanese 'point expression' vs. English 'line expression.'

In referring to the same durational occurrence, Japanese tends to refer to only the beginning or the end point, and the durational part is only implied. The equivalent English expressions express duration as duration.

The English present perfect tense is often translated by '-ta,' the so-called 'past form.'

1) Yase mashita: 'I've lost weight.'
2) Dô shitan desu?: 'What has happened?'
3) Haru ga kita: 'Spring has come.'

According to my semantic analysis, the essential meaning (= sememe) of 'ta' is 'some action or state was realized in the past' and it is left to the hearer's guess whether the realized action or state continues down to the time of utterance.

The 'point-line' contrast is expressed over the whole sentence in the following instances:

4) Ano hito wa jû-nen mae ni naku nari mashita: 'He's been dead for ten years.'
5) A. T. wa yomare naku natte kara 30-nen ni natte ita: 'Anthony Trollope ceased to be

read for thirty years.'--Somerset Maugham, The Summing Up.

English durational verbs also correspond to Japanese 'ta.'

6) Onaka ga suita: 'I'm hungry.'
7) Wakari mashita: 'I see (understand).'

The contrast is also seen in the meaning of lexical items:

8) yûdachi = a rain that begins to fall suddenly, usually in the evening (cf. niwaka-ame).
shower = a brief fall of rain, hail or sleet (Webster's New World Dictionary).
9) (o-cha o) tsugu = pour into (attention is paid to the reaching point, i.e. the cup).
pour (out tea) = to send (a liquid, fluid, or anything in loose particles) flowing or falling, as from one container to another, or into, over, or on something (The Random House Dictionary). (Attention seems to be paid to the whole process).

According to my very limited investigation, the description of women's figures in literature also seems to show the difference. I found several instances of the description of movement in English, but only one in Japanese. American and English peoples seem to pay more attention to process in general than the Japanese.

6. The Japanese inclination for point expression seems to be reflected in the field of arts. Haiku is a typical instance.

1) Meigetsu-ya/ike o megurite/yomosugara. ('O the beautiful moon; circling around the pond; all through the night.')
2) Me ni aoba/yama-hototogisu/hatsu-gatsuo. ('Greenery to the eye; mountain-cuckoos; the first bonito.')

In most haiku's, three things are just juxtaposed without any explicit grammatical connection, and the rest is left for the reader's imagination.

The same thing can be said about traditional Japanese paintings, in which part of the picture is left blank.

The Japanese garden and the flower arrangement can be interpreted as the composition of emphasis points. These two arts seem to have, at the same time, the character of 'pan-viewpoints,' which is also manifested in Japanese paintings, especially in picture scrolls.

The character of 'pan-viewpoints' seems to have a distant relationship with the structure of Japanese sentences, which can be continued with shifting topics.

European paintings have a fixed mono-viewpoint and are painted in perspective. European gardens are usually symmetrical and seem to presuppose some fixed viewpoints. (Cf. Edward T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension, 1966).

Discussion:

1. It was suggested that in many of the areas in which Professor Kunihiro found divergence between Japanese and Americans, actually comparable signals are given in both cultures but in different ways and/or to differing degrees. For example, just as the Japanese use chotto to soften their language, Americans use expressions like 'I'm afraid,' 'I feel like,' 'maybe,' etc. and also special intonation patterns, for much the same purpose. In particular, the casual style is characterized by the heavy use of such qualifiers.

   Similarly, in facial expression, the difference seems to be only one of degree and kind. The Japanese can readily read each other's facial expressions; it is only to a foreigner that the Japanese might seem to be 'poker-faced.' Statements on love and affection can also be qualified in terms of different segments of the culture: Japanese women, for example, express their emotions more readily than men.

2. The importance of being cognizant of speech levels when comparing items in two languages was mentioned. For example, subject deletion occurs in both English and Japanese, but in English, unlike Japanese, it does not occur in consultative or formal styles. Thus, it would not be accurate simply to say that there is subject deletion in Japanese but not in English.

3. The general topic of subject deletion was discussed at some length. Although the phenomenon occurs in both languages the deletion rules are different for Japanese and English.

It was pointed out that while the common occurrence of words like sore and are as subjects in modern translation style makes the Japanese formally more explicit, in actuality there is little difference in the degree of assumption and implication, since the referents of these subjects are often vague. Standard Japanese was contrasted with Hawaiian Japanese on this point: the latter has much less personal subject deletion (cf. the frequent use of yuu wa and mii wa).

4. The use--and growing non-use--of imperatives was discussed. Various more indirect request forms seem to be increasing in both languages, even in the advertising field. Forms like 'Drink Coca Cola' were also mentioned. There was some disagreement as to whether or not even these should be characterized simply as imperatives.

5. It was suggested that Professor Kunihiro's use of 'line expression' and 'duration' together with "process" as descriptive of English might be misunderstood by English speakers. For them, the realization of an action or state in the past (i.e. the Japanese -ta) would probably be more apt to suggest 'process' than the frequently comparable 'durative' English pattern consisting of a form of 'be' plus an adjective.

6. Professor Kunihiro restated his central theme--that we must examine language and culture together. He would like to assume a language-behavior complex, having common features. From a methodological point of view, he suggested that a possible research project would be Japanese-English translations through which interesting contrasts between the two languages would undoubtedly be discovered.

The difficulty of moving from grammar to behavior was mentioned, particularly in connection with any attempts to determine why Japanese and Americans behave differently. It was proposed that probably a careful description of what the linguistic contrasts of the surface structure of the two languages are would be the primary concern of the research proposed.

Features of the Language Behavior of the Japanese People with Particular Reference to Their Cultural Patterns[1]

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Introduction

The present study deals with language behavior of a people. I will proceed without clearly defining what language behavior is. In the present study, by language behavior, I mean the manner of expression rather than the structural patterning of mere linguistic forms.

The language behavior of a people is clearly related to other cultural patterns. It is more so than structural patterns of linguistic forms in the narrower sense. People tend to interpret the language behavior of people of different cultures superficially with little insight into interrelated cultural patterns. Studies of language behavior of different peoples are very important to avoid possible misunderstanding.

Studies of cultural language behavior can be more revealing if they are done in comparative or contrastive ways. But in the present study I will confine myself to Japanese. I hope to make similar studies of American behavior in the near future.

The problems will be dealt with in no particular order, and only those cases which I have observed will be taken up.

Heart-to-Heart Communication

1. The Japanese have the saying, I shin den shin, which means 'With heart you can communicate.' This roughly characterizes one of the communication attitudes of Japanese people. A couple of examples can be given.

2. When a person visits someone to ask for his help, he does not bring up the subject matter immediately. To create a friendly atmosphere he begins to smoke or talk about other things which are totally unrelated. And when it is time to go to the main topic of his visit, he approaches the topic gradually. It often happens that he expects the other person to recognize the purpose of his visit and ask about it. In this way he can avoid the embarrassment that he would have felt if he had started talking about the main topic immediately.

The person who begins with the main topic of his visit is often called "a business-like person." In traditional Japan, being business-like is thought to be unrefined.

3. When a person goes to a friend's funeral and meets the family, he usually does not know what Japanese expressions he has to use. There are one or two conventional funeral greetings which roughly mean, "How sad you must be!" But he is embarrassed to use even these formal expressions. Usually he mutters some words of this sort in an unintelligible manner and bows more than once. He expects that his sympathy can be felt by the other person. (In contrast to the unhappy situation, on auspicious occasions, the Japanese expresses congratulations more freely.)

4. When a person is happy, he has a happy face, but usually does not use very many words to express his happy feeling, though this tendency is changing these days. In Japan if a person expresses such happy feelings freely, he will be considered rude or too modern or childish.

5. Japanese people do not find much purpose in making a formal contract of any sort with others. They find more meaning in non-verbal, heart-to-heart agreement. But, having no verbal contract, it often happens that they see a promise broken or see themselves betrayed.

6. When a Japanese man loves a woman, he usually does not tell her so by saying, "I love you." If you say this in Japanese society you often sound as though you are joking. This is because ordinary people do not express their love in this way. Women do not use this expression either. Instead of saying, "I love you," Japanese people use an indirect expression or gesture.

Frank Criticisms in Human Relationship

1. At an academic meeting or in a demonstration class of a teaching workshop, few Japanese will give direct opinions or criticisms because they know from experience that it may mean the loss of any friendly relationship between the speaker and the critic. Besides, other people present may be made to feel uncomfortable by the rudeness of the critic, because they realize that the person who is being criticized feels "shame."

2. The form of a book review is similar. It is very difficult in Japan to find a book review which is really worth reading, because when a reviewer writes, he foresees embarrassment of the author. This is why a book

review often has only irrelevant remarks mingled with some favorable comments.

3. At Japanese offices (whether governmental or private) workers who are not in high positions are "not allowed" to make frank complaints about problems to their superiors. If they speak frankly they will often lose the chance for promotion in the future. Office workers are frustrated and often lose enthusiasm for their work, finding release from their tensions during off-duty hours.

Modesty

1. The Japanese people attach a lot of importance to modesty. This attitude is reflected in various Japanese expressions which sometimes say the opposite of what is actually meant.

2. When you are invited to a friend's home for dinner, the host or hostess will often say to you, "There is nothing to eat, but please eat it." You will then be surprised to find you are being served some (often a lot of) delicious food.

3. In a similar way, when you receive a gift from someone, he will say, "This is a small thing, but please accept it," though the present is far from being small.

4. In Japanese society it is thought to be unrefined to express pride in members of your own family. On the contrary it is a regular practice even to speak ill of them. This attitude is reflected in some descriptive words about certain members of the family. In the presence of other people a Japanese often refers to his wife as a gusai ('a stupid wife') and to his own child as a tonji ('a pig child').

5. When a person hears himself well spoken of by another person, he does not accept it and express thanks for it, because it is usually considered stupid to take another person's compliments at their face value. He usually says, Tondemonai ('far from the fact'), Doitashimashite ('no, not at all').

Avoidance of Public Display

1. As a subcategory of "being modest" it can also be mentioned that the Japanese people hate a pretentious attitude. So, most people do not want to use pretentious expressions.

2. One common criticism of foreigners is that in a train or bus Japanese people usually do not give their seats to women or older people. This does not always mean that they lack consideration toward the weaker person. They are so self-conscious that they are embarrassed to offer their seats or say a few kind words in front of other people.

Money Matters

1. Japanese people (except for business people) find it very awkward to bring up money matters directly in the course of their conversation (though it is often said that there is a great difference between the people of southern and northern Japan). This attitude may have had its origin in the earlier days when Samurai (Japanese lords or warriors) were or pretended to be indifferent to money matters. Anyway Japanese people tend to wait until the other person mentions money, or they tend to postpone referring to money as long as possible.

2. When applying for employment, a Japanese employee will hesitate to mention salary for fear that the employer will think him overly concerned with pay.

Unskilled Conversation

1. In traditional Japan, talking is perhaps not thought of as an important skill. Those who talk a lot are thought to lack character, unless they are talking to close friends or family members.

2. At social functions, whether at home or outside, Japanese people are not used to talking very much. Instead they are more inclined to eat and drink. At parties for men (e.g. among graduates of the same high school or college, or among office-workers who are forced to keep quiet while at work, etc.) they tend to drink and sing rather than talk.

3. Most Japanese people are also poor at greetings. At their first introduction, most of them exchange very few greetings, because they lack proper first greeting words. In language textbooks the expression "Hajimemashite"--or other similar expressions-is cited as appropriate for such an occasion, but this is a very formal expression.

4. In urban areas people in the neighborhood tend not to exchange greetings when they meet, even though they recognize each other. If one of them does offer a greeting in this situation, he may be considered to be a person who is too friendly, strange, or ambitious.

5. In larger Japanese offices people from different sections of the office often do not greet at all even though they recognize each other.

6. Japanese people are rather self-conscious about apologizing, particularly to strangers. When a person accidentally does something impolite in public, he often does not apologize. The other person, who may be rather quick-tempered, may get angry and start a fight.

Fear of Laughter

1. The fear of being laughed at is probably stronger in Japan than in any other country.

2. A Japanese mother often scolds her child by saying, "You will be laughed at by people," "You will be scolded by a policeman,". . . By repeated remarks of this sort Japanese children grow to be constantly aware of other people's opinions of them.

3. In high school or college classes the students rarely ask the teacher questions. This does not necessarily mean that Japanese students have no questions. Even though a student may have questions in his mind, he feels embarrassed to ask because he is afraid that his question may sound foolish, or that his question may trouble the teacher.

Avoidance of Speaking Directly

1. Japanese people are interested in creating a pleasant atmosphere before discussing important points. This means that introductory, often totally unrelated topics come first, and important points come toward the end. Foreigners listening to a Japanese often complain that they are irritated by not getting to the point for some time.

When it comes to asking for another's help, the main part of the conversation also usually comes toward the end, as discussed on page 58.

Formal and Arrogant Attitude in Public Affairs

1. In Japan particular varieties of language are used for certain occupations.

2. In governmental offices, some officials use a rather cold or arrogant tone when speaking to visitors. This may have had its origin in the early years of the Meiji Period when the government was considered as Okami

('higher institution'). Until the end of the last war, policemen also used to use very arrogant language in speaking to the general public.

3. On the other hand, storekeepers and clerks used to use very polite language, though this tendency has been declining recently. This may be because storekeepers used to be lowest on the professional ladder in traditional Japan.

Concerning language behavior at governmental offices, complicated format and formal expressions are required for papers and forms. Even a personal history record, which is often required to get a new job or to apply for something from the government, has rigid requirements.

Reluctance to Condescend

1. In a society like Japan's, which used to be feudalistic, a person who considers himself superior to another will not willingly relinquish his superiority.

2. Very few parents will say "thank you" to a child. Teachers will not say "thank you" to a student. And an official will not thank a general visitor.

3. In a family the husband, who has been considered the "lord," does not condescend to the other members of the family, particularly to his wife. A Japanese husband rarely uses kind words to his wife, though among younger husbands and wives this tendency has been changing a great deal recently.

This reluctance to be kind to others is partly related to "Terekusai" in Japanese, which may be comparable to what Westerners call self-consciousness.

Discussion:

1. The point made in this paper that we are interested in ways of expression rather than mere linguistic forms is well taken. We must guard against a tendency to vacillate between two opposite approaches--i.e. studying how certain linguistic rules and structures work out in the conceptual sphere on the one hand, as opposed to investigating which kinds of forms are pertinent to certain conceptual

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[1] The author wishes to thank Professor Kunihiro of the University of Tokyo for his helpful suggestions in preparing this paper.

spheres and types of behavior, on the other. We should decide which approach we will use and follow through consistently.

2. A warning against overgeneralization was reiterated. Many items in the above paper are relevant in American culture as well, but the degree of relevance and pertinent value judgments from within the culture are of great importance. For example, it will be necessary to distinguish between rural versus urban society, and the individual as opposed to the cultural stereotype. Most important to the research proposed will, of course, be the question of how these attitudes are reflected linguistically.

3. Are we interested simply in an inventory of cross-cultural differences, or are we primarily concerned with those differences that are significant for establishing rapport? The latter is certainly more important to our proposed research, but we will be concentrating on how such differences correlate with language.

4. It was pointed out that according to one scholarly interpretation, there are two kinds of haji: besides referring to disgrace or humiliation, haji also covers the shyness and self-consciousness so often attributed to the Japanese.

   It was suggested that the analysis of the background of such behavior patterns might indicate why they had developed, but there was a question as to whether this sort of explanation can be extended to language. Some reluctance was expressed against any analysis into why in a research project on the general project proposed.

Ethnography of Self-reference and Address in Present-day Japanese

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I am writing this paper by way of a sketchy review of what I have been doing for the last few years in what may be called an "Ethnography of Self-reference and Address," the purpose of which is first to construct a comprehensive framework according to which terms belonging to diverse lexical categories such as personal pronouns, individual names, terms for kin and so on can be grouped

together in a systematic way so as to present a functional picture of the linguistic behavior of the Japanese people in interpersonal communication, and then to correlate this, if possible, with the general socio-anthropological structure of the Japanese society.

If we put what we have in mind in general terms, it is to investigate exhaustively what kind of terms are used by the speaker to address others, and what words are used by him to refer to himself in speaking to whom in what context in a given society. As a special case of this, the question of self-reference in speaking to oneself should also be considered, for Japanese seem to use first person pronouns exclusively, whereas speakers of most European languages seem to use a second person pronoun, often preceded by their own name put in the vocative, e.g. "George, you are done for!" Such a difference might account for the structural difference in the mode of self-objectification between these people.

It is common knowledge that the Japanese language abounds in personal pronouns. He who has even a slight knowledge of the tongue can easily enumerate a number of first person pronouns, such as watakushi, boku, ore, temae, together with phonetic variants thereof, each with a special stylistic idiosyncracy of its own.

Exactly the same thing can be said of the second person. Omae, kimi, temae, anata are used with varying shades of meaning.

Certainly the existence of multiple pronouns can not be considered as a characteristic peculiar to Japanese. We know there are languages like Siamese and Javanese, to name only a few, where people are said to make nice distinctions in the use of different pronominal forms according to the speaker's status and addressee's position. A somewhat similar phenomenon is also reported from Vietnamese. Unfortunately I am not in a position to say anything definite on this apparently coincidental feature in these distinct languages, but I get the feeling that this trait may turn out to be a linguistic characteristic common to most of the South and East Asian countries, with the notable exception of Chinese. But extensive contrastive studies of these languages remaining a big desideratum, I am not going to say any more on this point.

Now coming back to the original topic, let us give a cursory glance over the various ways Japanese pronominals behave. The first thing that should be noted is that people seldom use them in daily conversation. In spite

of the rich assortment of pronouns, actual mention of these is avoided as much as possible. This does not necessarily mean, as one would be naturally led to suppose, that they are omitted but understood. In Spanish, for instance, personal pronouns used in the subjective case are usually omitted but people participating in the act of speech are fully aware of the kinds of pronouns underlying their conversation. Here pronouns are just deleted and when need be they can readily be recovered unequivocally. The forms of verbs used point unmistakably to what pronouns are meant. This is tantamount to saying that in Spanish personal pronouns are theoretically redundant.

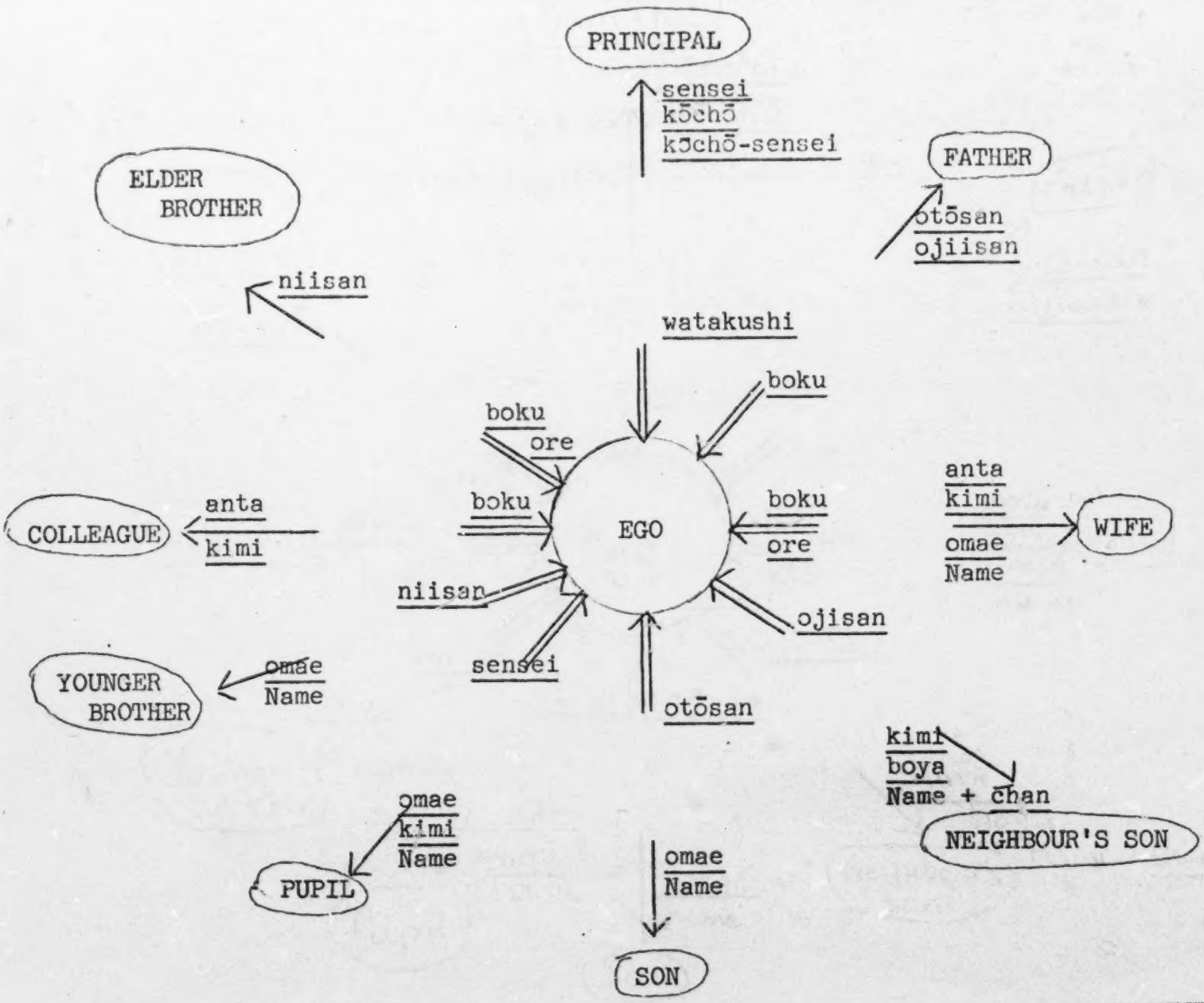
The case is rather different with Japanese. It is true that even here some of the pronouns can be recovered in exactly the same way as in Spanish. For example, a mother scolding her son who has overslept may say, "Motto hayaku okinakucha dame yo!" (You must get up earlier), where it is obvious that the pronoun anta or omae is deleted. But in cases where children speak to their parents, it is impossible to point out what sort of pronoun is deleted, since in Japanese personal pronouns, as we shall proceed to explain in a minute, may be used to one's equals as well as inferiors but not to one's superiors, a fact that so far has escaped the notice of students of the Japanese of today. A student, again, conversing with his teacher consistently uses the word "teacher" instead of any pronominals. Thus in referring to a book of the teacher's, he says, "Kono hon wa sensei-no desu-ka?" (Is this book Teacher's?) or "Sensei-no hon wa kirei-da" (Teacher's book is pretty.) It is the general rule that in speaking with his superiors, he employs exclusively terms for kin, words denoting their occupation, terms for their status in a social hierarchy, and so forth.

Conversely, superiors addressing their subordinates often refer to themselves by means of kinship terms, titles, and status names, instead of the first person pronouns.

Most Indo-European languages, and for that matter, even Arabic and Turkish, differ greatly in this respect. In all of these languages, the speaker refers to himself by a first person pronoun which admits of no alternatives. As for the second person, it is true that one or two alternative forms have developed alongside of the original in some cases, but the whole picture remains the same as before. To refer to oneself with words other than the genuine personal pronoun is extremely rare, and it is not at all common to refer to the addressee with such terms as "Teacher" or "Mother" (i.e. "Does Teacher like it?" for "Do you like it?").

In order to give some idea of the complicated nature of Japanese self-reference and address, a concrete example is given here in a simplified figure.

The ego represents a school teacher of middle age, married and having a son. The picture shows his self-reference and address vary according to whom he addresses.

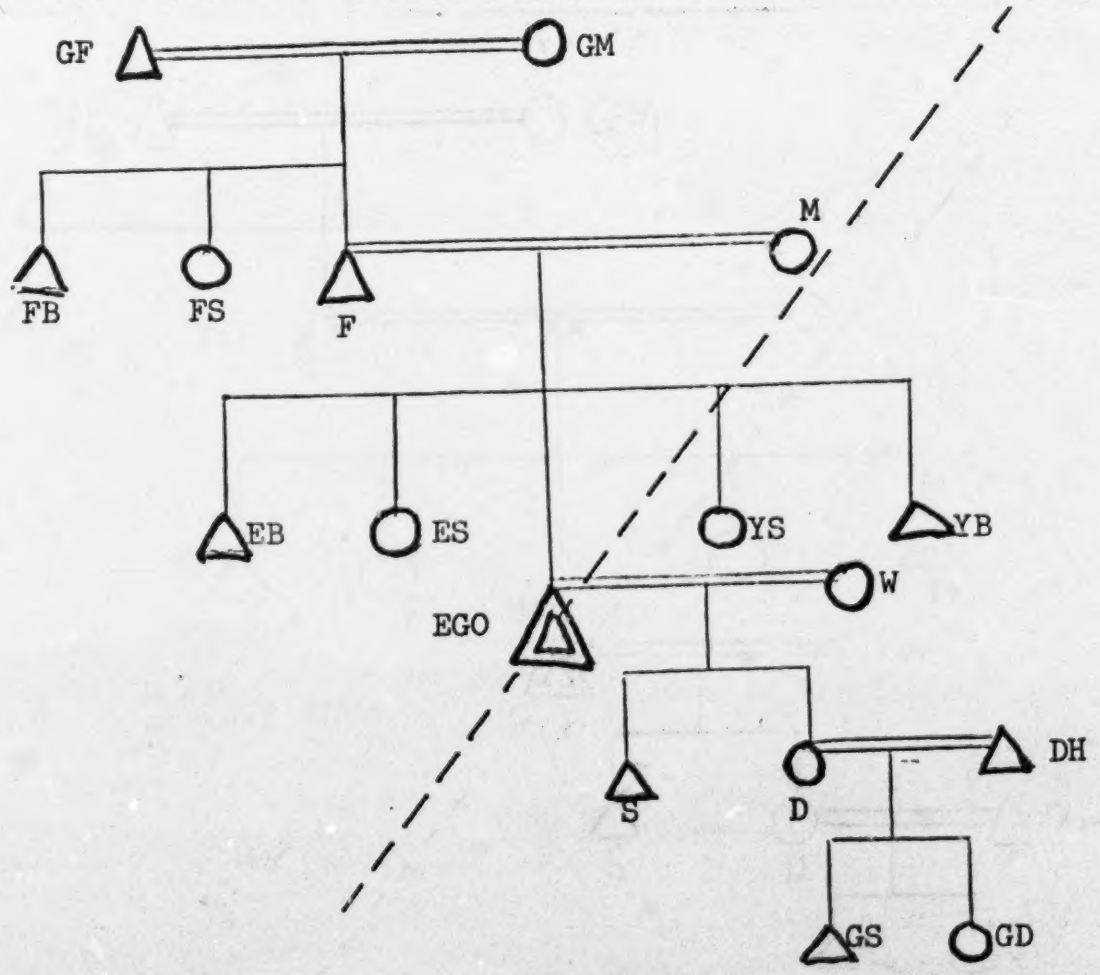


At this point it would be worthwhile to point out that in English self-reference, the word "I" alone is enough to cover all these cases with one possible exception. This is when the man refers to himself as "Daddy" when speaking with his own children in baby talk. Similarly the invariable "you" suffices in pronominal address.

In what follows, some of the results so far achieved from analyzing such examples as shown here will briefly be presented.

First of all, we shall examine how matters stand when members of the same family address each other and what terms are used in self-reference. In Japanese families, age means everything. All members of the ascending generations are viewed by the ego as his or her superiors. Of one's own generation, senior members, i.e. elder brothers and sisters, are also recognized as superiors irrespective of sex. The slanting dotted line crossing the chart divides ego's superiors from inferiors.

Now linguistically this line represents three concurrent lines of demarcation in address and two of reference.



1. The ego cannot address those members of his family above the line by any sort of personal pronouns. Members situated below the line he may address by the personal pronouns.

2. The ego usually addresses those members above the line by kinship terms. Contrariwise he cannot address those below the line by any terms standing for kinship relations.

3. The ego cannot address those above the line by their individual names, whereas he may use names in addressing those below the line.

4. The self-same line forms a clear watershed between those to whom the ego may use his own name in self-reference and those to whom he cannot. The speaker, especially a female, may refer to herself by her personal name in speaking with her superiors but she never uses it when speaking with those below the line.

5. In exactly the same way, the ego may refer to himself by the appropriate kinship term in speaking with his inferiors but he cannot use any terms for kin in speaking with his superiors.

These five rules constitute the basic pattern observed in the intrafamilial verbal communication of the Japanese people of today.

Now I would like to elaborate a few points of interest contained in the preceding analysis. It has been shown that in the Japanese family, superiors in speaking with inferiors, refer to themselves by kinship terms designating the relationship between them. That is to say, they look at themselves from the standpoint of the other party of the conversation. This principle is sometimes carried over into non-familial contexts and we come across such cases as the following.

All school teachers, excepting college professors, refer to themselves as "Teacher" in their talk with students. Doctors, nurses and policemen follow the same pattern of self-reference in speaking with children. An old gentleman staying at a hotel was reported to have referred to himself as "honorable guest" (o-kyaku-san) in response to the maid addressing him as "o-kyaku-san." In all of these cases superiors' self-references are determined by the terms of address they receive. It should be noted here that this type of self-reference is most likely to occur when superiors have a protective or patronizing feeling towards inferiors. And this is the reason why college professors do not refer to themselves by the term with which they are addressed.

It has also been stated above that in the Japanese family personal pronouns are used exclusively by senior members to juniors. Outside of one's family, one must observe the same rule. One avoids using personal

pronouns in addressing one's boss, teacher, or even a friend who is older than himself.

Instead of genuine pronouns, terms for status ("principal," "head," "chief," "master," "director," "manager," "president," etc.), occupational names ("teacher," "doctor," "carpenter," "nurse," "conductor," "driver," "policeman," etc.)and fictive kinship terms ("uncle," "aunt," "elder brother," "elder sister," "grandpa," "grandma," etc.) are commonly made use of as terms of pronominal address.

In addition to this, Japanese has a convenient way of coining professional names by affixing -ya ('store' or 'shop') to a great number of nouns denoting merchandise and commodities. Thus, a dealer in wine is saka-ya-san, one who sells books is hon-ya-san; an electrician is called denki-ya-san, a roofer is yane-ya-san. By means of this device, we can do without any pronouns in dealing with them.

As soon as two Americans get acquainted, they find out each other's names. Unless they do so, they feel ill at ease and cannot get on with the conversation. This is so much so that when a name is unknown, they may go so far as to pick up such generic names as 'Jack' or 'Mack.'*

The situation is entirely different with the Japanese. Names, first names in particular, are things of little importance. People sometimes associate with each other without ever knowing each other's names. Personally I have a lot of friends and acquaintances whose first names are unknown to me.

On the other hand, it is vital for a Japanese to know the occupation, social status and age of his associates to get on well with them. This linguistic peculiarity raises a serious problem when we do not and cannot have this information regarding the person with whom we want to talk. The total absence of a neutral second person pronoun like English 'you' places us in a very awkward situation. Before the last war when Japanese society found itself in a comparatively static state, the problem was not so acute. Different styles of dress and clothing offered palpable clues to the class, occupation and age of people, in most cases. Sometimes the way they talked revealed their social identity. Nowadays, with increased social mobility and the spirit of egalitarianism

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*It was pointed out that this usage usually occurs only in addressing taxi drivers, porters, etc.

pervading everywhere, it has become extremely difficult to tell people's identity by means of their outward appearance.

I have an impression that the reluctance to talk to strangers, so typical of the Japanese city-dweller, may be attributable to this lack of certainty as to the identity of the person addressed. Of course efforts are being made to overcome linguistic barriers of this kind, and the spreading use of o-taku (lit. 'your precious house') to total strangers, in a manner comparable to the use of English 'you,' may be the sign of an attempt at a breakthrough in the linguistic deadlock.

Discussion:

1. The line of demarcation shown in the above diagram is a new discovery by Professor Suzuki, and is important in reflecting present-day Japanese usage. It points up the fact that Japanese has a much more elaborate system for dealing with superiors and inferiors than for dealing with equals.

   Professor Suzuki expressed his interest in continuing research on this subject throughout Japan and in comparing any available Hawaiian data.

2. As a subject for joint research, this topic would of course have to include investigation of English usage. Professor Suzuki has already used American and British novels as a source of comparative English language data.

3. Contrasts in the importance and usage of names--both family and given--were briefly discussed.

4. The use of titles in self-reference was mentioned as a subject for sociolinguistic investigation. For example, when is the use of such terms as "Dr." or "Professor" in reference to oneself considered pretentious? And how are the many varied student-teacher relationships reflected in the vocabulary of personal reference?

5. Aside from the sociolinguistic implications of personal reference usage within one social structure, what are the implications for the second-language learner? While pedagogy is not a primary interest of this group, this is a relevant question in a study concerned with cross-cultural communication. But the first requirement is an adequate description of the systems in the two cultures.

Again the observation was made that the differences between Japanese and American usage are probably more frequently a matter of degree than they are qualitative differences.

Coexistent Systems and Diasystems of Culture

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The Japanese title of this conference, translated into English, would be "Problems of Linguistic Sociology as a Factor in Value Systems"--or, more concretely, "Contrastive Study of U.S.-Japan Linguistic Behavior." The term "linguistic sociology" (in Japanese, shakai-gengogaku) is used here, though there are other expressions both in English and Japanese, i.e., "sociolinguistics" and gengo-shakaigaku.

In these border-line disciplines there is always the possibility of a shift of emphasis between two fields of study. So some argue that we should change the term too, according to the change of center of gravity. But sometimes the content of a discipline differs among countries (even among different scholars!) because of a difference in academic traditions. Therefore it is irrelevant and fruitless to discuss here the minute differences of meanings of these four (English and Japanese) terms. So let us regard these terms as representing almost the same discipline.

To define the field of sociolinguistics strictly would not do any good either. Considering the purpose of this conference, we should rather try to widen the field of study and point of view--and it is very natural and at the same time desirable to overstep the borders of "sociolinguistics."

But it must be pointed out at least that the contrastive study of linguistic behavior properly belongs to ethnolinguistics, not to sociolinguistics. We can perhaps distinguish between the structure of culture and the structure of society, though there are many border-line cases. Then sociolinguistics is mainly a study of the relation between language and society--between language and various social groups. Correlation between social strata and linguistic variability, problems relating to bilingualism or language-standardization, and so on, seem to be the major subjects of study in sociolinguistics. So, sociolinguistics concentrates more on the diversity within a community or a nation, while ethnolinguistics

can be said to be more concerned with overall structure of a culture (or a nation). Accordingly ethnolinguists are supposed to be better equipped for the contrastive study of linguistic behavior which would be the main subject of this conference.

In this paper, the theoretical problems concerning how to deal with various and diverse phenomena of linguistic behavior will be discussed.

Structural and Emic Treatment of Culture

Among disciplines dealing with human culture, linguistics has experienced a very lucky development partly thanks to the characteristics of language itself: linguists have been able to describe the actually very complicated linguistic phenomena as beautiful, clean-cut structures or systems. So it is natural that many scholars have tried to apply linguistic methods to the analysis of cultural phenomena.

We can point out two major contributions of linguistics in this field. One concerns the method of description of actual cultural phenomena--for example the style of greetings--and the other concerns a more fundamental idea about the structure and system of cultural phenomena.

a. Description of actual phenomena

The generative grammarians tried to deny the existence of phonology (phonemics) which has been the most successful field of research in structural linguistics. But it seems very probable that the basic idea of phonology has validity even now, especially in describing cultural phenomena. For example the hypothesis that one identical phoneme can appear as phonetically different sounds (allophones) according to respective environments must be applicable in the description of cultural phenomena too.

Also, the hypothesis that one phoneme in one environment (i.e., one allophone) can be scattered widely phonetically (i.e., free variation) is useful for the study of culture. This means the "emic" and "etic" distinction of cultural phenomena coined by Pike by analogy with phonemics and phonetics. Pronunciation as well as gesture are kinds of action which are executed aiming at a socially or culturally determined standard. So, metaphorically, these actions can be considered as arrows which are shot toward an "emic" bull's-eye--the actual realization having a certain "etic" variety or scattering. To determine the

typical "emic" behavior (bull's-eye), we can make use of the intuition or introspection of informants both in the case of phoneme and "behavioreme."

To discuss such a thing as "behavioreme," we should further consult the methodology of so-called "structural semantics," which has also gained much from analogy with phonology. For example, in the case of greetings, the precise description of gesture and voice corresponds to the description of the form of words. (As for the form of a word, we can analyze it into a limited number of elements called phonemes. But it is not clear yet if the same can be said about such behavior as greetings.) On the other hand, behaviors such as greetings have their own function within the whole structure of culture or customs, and we can study these as something corresponding to the meaning of words.

b. Culture as a structure or a system

Many scholars have discussed the possibility of regarding culture as structural or systematic, so there is no necessity to discuss this theme here. But important hypotheses underlying this thesis must be pointed out.

One such hypothesis is that the cultural phenomena of a community have close structural correlations with one another. Therefore, to observe a given cultural phenomenon, we should treat it in the whole network of the culture. Especially in the contrastive study of cultures, we should not lose sight of this structural correlation among elements of a culture, otherwise we tend to emphasize only the superficial differences among isolated small parts of two cultures. Our first step should be the entire structural description of a culture, and contrast or comparison should come after that.

If we go a step further, we come across a hypothesis which maintains that the relations among cultural phenomena are orderly or systematic. This has been true especially on the level of phonology, and there have been similar arguments which start from analogy with phonology on other levels of linguistics, though problems are more complicated. Among them structural semantics is the most interesting field for us, as a field within linguistics which has direct relationship with methodology of analysis of linguistic behavior.

It may be difficult to find an orderly system in cultural phenomena other than language, but to keep this hypothesis as one of the fundamentals of study may be not only useful but necessary. Any scientific discipline

has some kind of an axiom similar to "orderly system"--i.e., "the simple and clear one is the true one."

Besides, the areas of our study--the United States and Japan--are culturally full of diversities. Though the judgment on the selection of "typical" Japanese or American cultural characteristics has been made rather unconsciously so far, theoretically it is very difficult to determine what is typical, especially when we consider the diversity according to areas, social classes, races, generations, time, and so on. The hypothesis of "orderly system" can be applied to establish the "typical cultural pattern": we regard those cultural phenomena as "typical" that form orderly systems together with other cultural phenomena. This means that we make use of the content or internal relations of culture, not the accompanying, external factors such as age, area, education or social class.

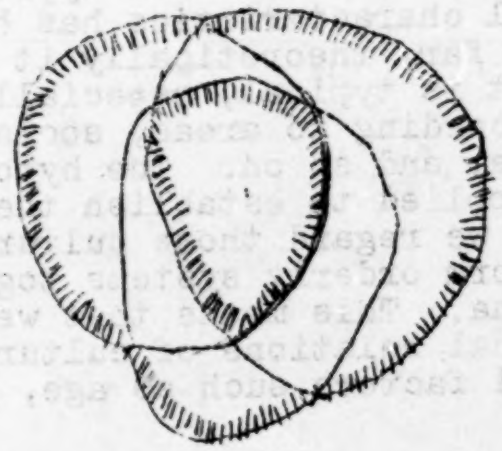
But to describe a culture properly, we need more steps. And here again we find that experience in the field of linguistics, especially phonology, gives inspiration.

Coexistent Systems in Culture

The most effective method of treating the diversity within a culture is the hypothesis of coexistent systems. "Coexistent phonemic systems" were proposed by Fries and Pike (1949) to account for the loan words in an American Indian language. In so-called Standard Japanese, especially in the speech of highly educated people, it is possible to hypothesize two coexistent phonemic systems--one excluding recent loan words and the other including them. It is also necessary to hypothesize two or more coexistent systems to describe the actual linguistic situation of most of the present Japanese dialects, because there is so much influence from Standard Japanese.

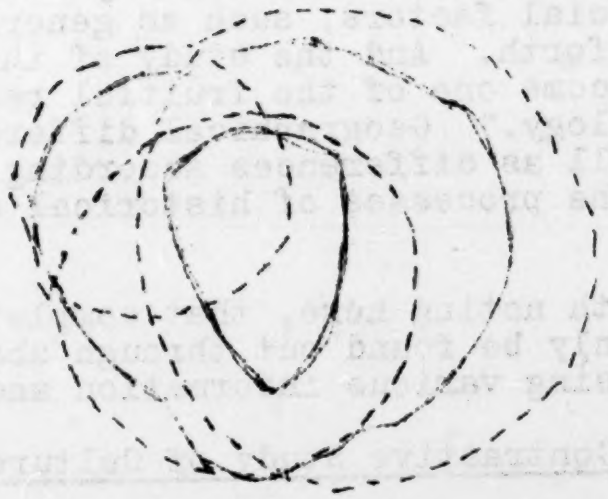
Phonologists have been trying to find "orderly systems" for about half a century. At first, research was done by assuming tacitly the homogeneity of the language of a community--neglecting the internal diversity. Later, however, it was noticed that the diversity within a community was too great to be neglected. To overcome this difficulty, the study of "idiolect" (the speech of an individual at a given time) was proposed, though it was found later that even the speech of an individual is not homogeneous. Moreover, the ultimate goal of linguistic analysis is not the description of the speech of an individual but that of a community as a whole.

Charles Hockett (1958) proposed a useful distinction between "overall pattern" and "common core," admitting diversity among speakers within a community. This can be shown in the following figure (not the same as Hockett's).



Each irregular circle represents one idiolect; the area surrounded by the innermost shaded line represents the common core; and the area surrounded by the outermost shaded line represents the overall pattern. (In this paper the distinction between an individual's active and passive [productive and receptive] codes is ignored for simplicity's sake.)

It would be impractical to treat only the common core in the actual description of language. But it is difficult to set up an "orderly system" if we treat the overall pattern as a whole, because there are too many individual differences and aberrant features in an overall pattern. Therefore we turn to the idea of "coexistent systems."



Circles with dotted lines represent "coexistent orderly systems"; the area within the innermost solid line represents the common core; the area within the outermost solid line represents the overall pattern.

An orderly system does not necessarily have to coincide with the common core or the overall pattern; nor does it have to coincide with any idiolect--an idiolect may lack some part of a system, and it may often include parts which belong to other coexistent systems.

For simplicity's sake, the figures here are modeled after a small community, but we can widen the view and treat the whole dialect or the whole language as consisting of many coexistent systems, some of which can be very far from each other in the figure (i.e., linguistically very different).

Similarly, we can argue that a culture too consists of several coexistent orderly systems. By this way of thinking, it may be found out that the cultural diversity within a community stems actually from the selective acceptance of several cultural systems of different members of the community.

In contrastive study, we generally try to make the phenomena for comparison as simple as possible. To emphasize the diversity may therefore sound rather destructive, but actually it is not; on the contrary, it is a necessary step to treat culture structurally, because orderly systems can be found only after studying the overall pattern, admitting the existence of diversity as a matter of fact.

Each orderly cultural system may have close correlation with social factors, such as generation, social class, and so forth. And the study of this correlation will surely become one of the fruitful research fields of "culture-sociology." Geographical differences within a culture, as well as differences according to generation or era, show the processes of historical change of cultural systems.

It is worth noting here, that complete "orderly systems" can only be found out through abstract research by scholars, using various information and materials.

Diasystems in Contrastive Study of Culture

A method to describe a culture in an orderly way was thus found by hypothesizing "coexistent (orderly) systems." According to some linguists, setting up a "system" means at the same time setting up another difficulty, because different systems are said to be incommensurable with each other. If this were the case, we could not compare parts of a system once we set up a system--very inconvenient. But this must be called an empty argument because many contrastive studies have been done treating languages as systems.

Actually we can point out at least two methods for the contrastive study of language. One of them can be called, for convenience's sake, typological study, which compares systems as "forms," temporarily ignoring the "content." The other is a method which compares systems point by point, positing "content" of language as its basis. We can call this diasystemic study, borrowing a technical term from the study of language contact.

a. The typological study of language is mainly concerned with contrasting the number of phonemes, the shape of phonological systems, various morphological distinctions, and so on. Thanks to the development of generative grammar, we now have some new methods for contrasting syntactic structure, too. In a typological study, only the abstract elements are contrasted, after analyzing the language formally.

Examples of typological treatments of culture are found in the so-called "vertical society" of Professor Nakane, the "oiko-centric" system of kinship terms of Professor Suzuki, and "implicit" versus "expressive" culture of Professor Kunihiro.

We can easily understand the fundamental difference in cultures and discover similar examples by this kind of

contrast, for only a small number of elements are used as catch-words for characterization. But this method also has defects because there is a possibility of overlooking other aspects of culture (it is difficult to explain away all aspects of a culture by only one or two catch-words), and sometimes of distorting the interpretation of facts, though by using many catch-words (i.e., characterizing a culture in many ways) we can hope to describe the whole structure of a culture.

b. A diasystemic approach is necessary to overcome these difficulties. But we must be cautious because there are two different ways to construct a diasystem in present linguistics.

Diasystem in the study of language contact. When bilinguals identify a sound of a language with a sound of another language, this is called a "diaphone." And the system of these identified sounds is called a diasystem. Research has been done mainly on the level of phonology. In semantics, almost the same kind of research has been carried out to illustrate the semantic differences between languages, but the term "diasystem" has not been used on this level.

The most important fact here is that the sphere of "content" of language, not the sphere of "form," is used as a frame of reference to construct systems; the "content" in this case means actual sounds in phonology, and actual things and matters of this world in semantics.

In structural dialectology, another kind of "diasystem" is used, and maintained by some to be the main purpose of this field. In setting up a diasystem between dialects, often sounds of a common ancestral dialect are used as a basis of comparison. In this case, we are actually dealing with the results of the historical development of sounds. This is just the opposite of the method used in comparative linguistics to reconstruct the parent language (proto-language) from materials of daughter languages. Actually there is an argument that diasystem in this sense shows the system of parent language; and using diasystem as a means for reconstruction seems fruitful, though we need some reservation.

But in structural dialectology, the first kind of "diasystem" (as in language contact) is also applied. So we can characterize the second kind of "diasystem" as historical, and the first kind as contrastive--both kinds being used concurrently in structural dialectology.

For the contrastive study of culture, we can ignore the historical diasystem and concentrate on the contrastive one.

In phonology, the contrastive diasystemic study has been applied to the whole system because it is the simpler level of language. But a similar study in semantics has been done only in small semantic fields, partly because it is difficult to include a whole vocabulary in a diasystem, but mainly because it is possible to treat a part of vocabulary as a system. By analogy it seems possible to hypothesize several behavior fields in which several behavioremic systems can be set up.

Abundant material for this kind of study can be found in popular manuals of foreign etiquette and customs for travellers and language learners. All we must do for diasystemic study is to describe these phenomena more accurately and systematically, and to contrast each item of culture faithfully--to know more accurately what is different and what is shared between two cultures.

Terse characterizations, as used in "typological study," will result from this steady and sober line of approach. So this "diasystemic approach" is a method to arrange materials properly, which would be worthwhile to develop as a basic method of contrastive study.

The last but the most important problem to be discussed is the combination of "coexistent systems" and "diasystemic approach." It is theoretically possible to contrast systems of both cultures one by one. But practically it is not only superfluous but sometimes impossible because of complexity. We have argued that there are correlations between cultural systems and social structure. By the same token and using also internal information--that is, the orderliness or completeness of systems--we can find a definite order among systems. After determining the order, the next step is to compare the first and the most complete system between two cultures. And after that, subsidiary systems are to be contrasted. By this procedure we can not only contrast the typical cultural structures but also include other inconspicuous features of culture in our investigation. So we can perhaps maintain that this is theoretically one of the most efficient procedures for the contrastive study of culture as a whole.

Let us consider a concrete example such as greetings. First, we regard the part of culture related to greetings as constituting a system. Though the patterns of greetings are diverse, because of differences of style or social

groups, we include all these in an overall pattern. And after this, we abstract and describe several coexistent systems, according to the hypothesis that elements of culture constitute "orderly systems" with each other. Next we determine the order among systems by internal evidence. We can further study the relative status of greeting systems in social structure, and sometimes the process and cause of historical change.

For contrastive study, we do the same for the culture to be contrasted. Then we compare first the most orderly and typical systems of each culture, by using the "content" of greetings (i.e., functions in culture) as a frame of reference (though it is possible also to contrast greetings by comparing functions, using "forms" as a frame of reference). The same will be done for subsidiary systems. Thus, not only the system of greetings itself, but accompanying factors can be subjects of contrastive study (e.g., the relation between social strata and various greetings).

What has been described above is meant to be a contribution to the methodology of contrasting cultures. Some may call this a desk theory. The important point is to check this hypothesis with actual cultural phenomena. This U.S.-Japan Conference would be a suitable ground to test the validity of the theory.

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Discussion:

1. Problems of terminology were discussed. The Japanese shakaigaku and minzokugaku, regularly rendered in English as "sociology" and "ethnology" respectively, are very distinct disciplines as are their derivative disciplines. In the U.S., the terminology seems more fluid. Generally speaking, sociolinguistics is most concerned with social differences that determine differences of usage within one language, and ethnolinguistics with research across various languages particularly in the area of semantics.

2. What is culture? For some scholars, the definition is very broad. Mr. Inoue's thesis that there is structure in culture poses the question of just what he is including in his own definition.

3. It was suggested that culture might possibly be systematized through a stratificational approach, analyzing the social and situational constraints that exist beyond the semantic level.

4. The complexity of culture--particularly in the area of non-ritualized, everyday interpersonal relations--was stressed. It is that very complexity that has made scholars distinguish between social structure and culture.

There seemed to be general agreement that the most urgent problem is the gathering of cultural data, for without sufficient data, it is premature to worry about a theory.

Akutai* as an Expressive Word and Behavior Transmitting Japanese Values

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Human language and verbal behavior can be studied not only in terms of their technical structure but also as a functional system representing people's feelings, thoughts, values and interpersonal attitudes.

There have been studies on the social functions of the Japanese language and verbal behavior. For example,

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* or Akuko: Japanese invective words or curses.

the work on honorific and other sorts of Japanese words for addressing and referring to others and self are well known among the Japanese participants at this conference. These studies were aimed not only at describing and classifying various expressions but also at exploring the interpersonal attitudes and values behind these language phenomena as influenced by the Japanese social structure.

The present study reported here is also concerned with the functional usages of various Japanese expressions. It focuses on the nature of Akutai (Japanese cursing) as an expression of various aspects of Japanese norms and values,--one which has important social functions.

It is my general assumption that there is no culture and society in which people do not have a body of insulting or cursing words which they can draw upon to express themselves. However, when they are expressed and to whom would vary from one culture to another. People in one culture may feel more free to curse and would enjoy doing so, whereas people in other cultures may feel more restricted and avoid cursing each other except for some mild forms of backbiting.

Furthermore, even within a culture such as American or Japanese, there are various ways of expressing one's thoughts and emotions through cursing, depending upon one's sex, social and economic status, and the particular social situation involved. For example, women traditionally use less profanity than men, and people in higher socio-economic statuses are considered more "refined" and are seen as refraining from using profanity to express themselves.

Presently, in Japan and America there appears to exist a social milieu (especially among the young) which encourages public expressions of profanity. This emphasis on a freer expression of cursing has become an effective tactic of confrontation among many protest groups.

The cross cultural variations on the nature of cursing, however, have not been thoroughly investigated by social scientists. The present paper is a first attempt at dealing with Akutai (Japanese way of cursing and insulting). It is an attempt to present a framework for further comparative analysis of verbal aggressive behavior in general.

Table One shows various expressions of Akutai in terms of the person who is addressed, the occasions on

which they are expressed and whether they are expressed privately or in the presence of others.

Table One

Occasion / To Whom	To address privately	To address in the presence of others
Self	Swear words (e.g. Chikusho, Nanikuso, etc.) Self-blame (e.g. Nante hetakuso)	
An opponent	Abusive language, Stinging tongue (e.g. Baka, Aho, Tonma, Kechi, Hetakuso, etc.) Cursing words (e.g. Zamamiro, Kusokurae, Umani Kerarete Shin jimae, Kutabare, etc.) Side-hits	Cursing words (Tanka, Beranmei) Cursing chorus (e.g. Katchan Kazunoko . . ., Keichan Kedarake, Haidarake, . . . Nakimushi Kemushi . . .) Barracking (e.g. Usotsuke) cross-talk
A person not present	Kageguchi (=backbiting) (e.g. Umano Hone, Aonisai, Hageatama) Depreciating words (e.g. Uchi no Yadoroku, Gusai, Tonji, etc.)	Stinging tongue (e.g. "Eich man," Hashutsufu daijin, etc.) Sobriquet (e.g. Tanuki, Dabohaze, Uranari, NHK, etc.) Backbiting
An opponent group		Cursing chorus (e.g. Gakko ii gakko, Haittemitara Borogakko)

Words underlined are used by both sexes.

One of the interesting characteristics of Japanese swear words, as Tsurumi (1954) has pointed out, is the lack of religious references in the words when compared to European and American swear words. Certain exceptions are the use of chikusho and namusan, which are related to Buddhism, but there are no such words from Shintoism. In spite of the fact that a few Shinto shrines still celebrate the Akutai Festival in which the congregation (and spectators) exchange various (witty) cursing words with each other, there are no cursing words at all related to Shintoism. It is also noteworthy that there are no references made to the Emperor or Empress nor to any ancestral Japanese Gods. Moreover, the Japanese do not make

references to maternal figures in their cursing. Thus, the son of a female dog has no counterpart in Japanese.

For the most part, Japanese swear words make references to excretory and other bodily functions or deformities (e.g. eekuso and hetakuso both refer to human excrement, and hageatama, hanapecha, heppirigoshi, etc. all refer to bodily functions). In fact the use of the term kuso as a suffix or prefix has become so common that it is used by both men and women talking around the dinner table (e.g. kuso-dokyo, kuso-majime, kuso-ochitsuki). Many Japanese may not be aware of its rather seamy origins.

Another characteristic of Japanese cursing is the time and place for its use. Some of these may be stylized and institutionalized. Perhaps the best example of such use is the tanka--a stylized form of cursing used in traditional Japanese like the Kabuki play Sukeroku, and in literature such as Soseki's Bottchan. Such a form of cursing was publicly expressed against a group or person, and when cleverly done, it received public applause because it functions in the form of catharsis of people's repressed emotions. Such a form may be similar to the present American attacks by various protest groups who have utilized various curse words in their rhetoric and have gotten some recognition for their cleverness, although not necessarily agreement.

Another type of public cursing is Hayashi-Kotoba (cursing chorus). It is a collective type of cursing directed against some enemy, and it not only has the function of attacking the enemy, but it is also a social-psychological mechanism for uniting a group. Such a process is possible through the common rhythmic shouting of obscenities and slogans. Another form of this is the Manzai, which is an entertaining public encounter by two professional persons or groups who shout ridicule and obscenities at each other. The cleverness of these encounters is not only entertaining but it also helps the audience to forget their daily worries. To my limited knowledge of the English language, it is not clear whether a similar classification and analysis is possible in reference to English cursing and swear words. One of my American informants, however, made a distinction between swear words and cursing words by the subject to whom they were addressed. Also, American newspapers, such as The New York Times and The Los Angeles Times, have occasionally pointed out the increasing use of swearing as a weapon by co-eds and women in general, and the socio-economic differences of people's cursing.

Furthermore, an article published in the U.S. pointed out that anatomical swearing in English has origins in the uneducated peasantry.

These facts may suggest that a comparative study of words and verbal behavior with invective power in terms of socio-economic status and situation will be contributing greatly to a study of cultural norms and values in each country.

The second table represents some of my own ideas on the various psychological functions of Akutai in terms of three levels of human behavior; 1) individual level, 2) group level and 3) societal level. Such a table is presently a first attempt for such analysis and has not been clearly spelled out. This table is added only for your simple reference and I feel it is difficult to elaborate it now, but this kind of generalization will be another interesting subject for future collaboration between Japanese and American psychologists who are linguistically oriented.

Table Two

A. Individual (motivational-emotional) level
   1. Needs for self-independence, assertion, dependency → frustration → anger → verbal direct aggression (Akutai, swearing and cursing) → tension reduction (catharsis) → Affirmation of the self.
   2. Cognitive dissonance (discovery of some discrepancy in others' behavior from one's norms and values)→ unpleasant feeling → laughter (+ criticism).

B. Group Level
   1. Group needs for independence, dominance over other groups, submission to other group, etc. → common cognitive dissonance (discovery of some discrepancy in the behaviors of other groups) → common unpleasant feeling → either Akutai (individual cursing, cursing chorus, and barracking) or laughter (confirmation of common feeling and overcoming individual fear) → catharsis → strenghthening collective consciousness, affirmation of group ego.

C. Societal Level
   1. Encountering a different culture in visiting, marriage and emigration → discovery of behavior discrepancy of members of other cultures → assimilation and/or mutual repulsion → group cursing-cursing chorus → uniting solidarity of an in-group as well as overcoming individual fear.

Discussion:

1. A broader term is required in English to cover the many types of language use--swearing, cursing, insult, derogation, invective, "put-down," "zinger," etc.--included in Professor Hoshino's paper. A new term--"abusage"--was suggested.

2. The question of how and when the language of insult is acquired by the Japanese child was raised. Some pertinent research on the American child has been done in the U. S.

3. Examples of the group insult, directed against rival schools, antagonist sports teams, and enemy nationals during wartime, were cited.

4. The contrast in argument style among different cultures was mentioned. Among the Japanese, blows are apt to follow a minimal amount of verbal exchange.

5. There may be a marked contrast between Japanese and Americans in the amount of cursing used by the military. No one knew of a Japanese parallel to its constant use by American servicemen.

6. Linguistic manifestations of the generation gap were discussed, particularly in terms of student confrontations and demonstrations. Contrasts between Japanese and Americans were noted: for example, the use of taboo words by the Americans as compared with the use of kisama by Japanese students in addressing the president of a university.

7. How does a Japanese wife insult her husband? One method is to fail to use certain polite forms that would ordinarily be expected. The use of akutai by the wife is affected by such factors as status, education, generation, the presence of children, etc.; but one opinion expressed was that the Japanese wife would not use akutai.

8. It was suggested that words of endearment might be taken up as a parallel study. Professor Suzuki has already done some research in this area in connection with his work on forms of address and self-reference. He mentioned the total lack of animal names as terms of endearment in Japanese, corresponding to such examples of English usage as "kitten," "pigeon," "lark," etc.

9. The contrast between Japanese and American attitudes toward physical handicaps was noted. The general lack of public sympathy in the Japanese cultural tradition is reflected in the number of words used to taunt the afflicted. However, there seems to be a change in this area in Japan at the present time.

IV. General Discussion
(Wednesday, August 25, 1970: Morning session)

A brief summary of each of the five papers presented by the American team on Monday was given, followed by both general discussion and specifics on the form that related research projects might take.

The following comments and questions were included:

1. Is there really a problem of breakdown in communication between the Japanese and Americans? Or would it be more accurate to say that communication does occur but with differing degrees of irritation? Our problem, then, would be to discover what kind of behavior causes the least irritation and teach that. This, more than complete acceptance in the foreign culture, is probably our primary goal.

2. In the important area of decision-making, it becomes important to be able to read the clues that point out the head man. This is an area of frequent misunderstanding.

3. Concerning the choice of alternate forms in a given language, a factor analysis and the ordering of the elements on which the decision is based would be highly useful. The model would probably differ for different speakers of the language.

4. Is a shift in speech style conscious or automatic? And how accurate are observations by native speakers on their own use of style?

5. Concerning kanji, is there any evidence that the reduction in the number used has in fact reduced the learning load for reading with a concomitant increase in the capacity to learn other things? Has the limitation of kanji had any effect on cognitive development? Is the use of Yamato-kotoba on radio and television increasing?

V. Address by Professor William Labov
(Wednesday, August 26, 1970: Afternoon session)

Professor William Labov, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Visiting Professor at the University of Hawaii, addressed the conference group. He discussed his views on linguistics and sociolinguistics in general, and more particularly the methods he uses in gathering sociolinguistic data. He described his summer work on Hawaiian Creole and played several of the tape recordings he had made.

Professor Labov first discussed the following outline:

1. The Saussurian Paradox: Langue, the social aspect of language, can be studied by any one individual asking questions of himself; parole, the individual aspect of language, can only be studied by a sociological survey of the speech community.

2. Six sociolinguistic axioms.

(2.1) Style range: There are no single-style speakers.

(2.2) The inequality of styles: Not all styles are equally systematic, i.e., show equally economical and consistent rules of grammar and phonology.

(2.3) Attention to speech: Styles can be ordered by the amount of attention paid by the speaker to his speech.

(2.4) The vernacular: The most systematic style is the vernacular, in which the minimum attention is paid to speech.

(2.5) Shared knowledge: The vernacular is used with those who have the maximal body of shared knowledge with the speaker.

(2.6) Style shift: Whenever a speaker perceives himself as being observed by someone who does not have the maximal body of shared knowledge with him, he will pay more than minimum attention to his speech.

Corollary (1) Interview style: Speakers who are responding to a series of requests for information do not use the vernacular.

Corollary (2) Recording style: Speakers who are aware that their speech is being recorded do not use the vernacular.

3. The Observer's Paradox: In order to obtain information on the most systematic style of speech, one must observe the way the speaker behaves when he is not being observed.

In addition, Professor Labov discussed the following:

(1) To solve the observer's paradox, use insiders as observers; avoid establishing a power relationship, which will automatically preclude any use of the vernacular; learn the interests of those being observed and stick to their ultra-rich topics; use a good tape recorder.

(2) The generation gap is total and always has been. Most adults are not aware of the ultra-rich topics of children and adolescents, and therefore have difficulty establishing rapport. From a position of power, they frequently use a speech style that signals an attempt to improve the child. In effect, the adult is a living reproach to the child: "Why aren't you as good as I am?"

(3) Two cultures free of a power relationship might be expected to be able to tell each other what their stylistic norms are, but people are not aware of their own behavior.

(4) Through the choice of words, grammatical forms, style, intonations, and sometimes gestures, a given meaning may be communicated in such a way that it can later be denied (principle of deniability). This often becomes an important means of insult.

(5) Grammar is the means by which we elaborate or complicate the essential message in "a cloud of words" to fit certain stylistic norms. At the opposite end of the scale is condensation.

(6) It is of the greatest importance to assign the person(s) addressed to the proper category of familiarity in reference to a given subject of conversation, and provide only the proper amount of information (information principle). To give more information than is required is a form of insult.

(7) The language of mitigation is one of the last things learned in a foreign language.

In organizing a sociolinguistic research team Professor Labov recommended that most observers should be insiders. Long-term participant observation of a group is the key to the collection of significant data. In addition, an outsider can sometimes supplement the data by observing things an insider is unable to hear. Participating in the overall project should be a group of researchers who share a point of view and who bring to the project all pertinent kinds of expertise.

Professor Labov suggested some linguistic categories he would investigate if he were going to a new language area:

a. Imperative
b. Negation (particularly of the imperative)
c. Voice (active and passive)
d. Morphophonemics
e. Pronouns
f. Greetings

VI. General Discussion
(Thursday, August 27, 1970: Morning session)

A brief summary was given of papers presented by the Japanese team on Tuesday, followed by discussion similar to that of the preceding morning.

The following items were included:

1. A contrastive analysis of Japanese and English verbal expressions might be arrived at most quickly through a comparison of translations. However, the very special problems connected with translation gave rise to a question as to whether the results would really constitute sociolinguistic research in the more usual sense.

2. The study of women's speech in Japanese and American was discussed as a subject for research.

3. How is national character developed? Professor Ogasawara has been tracing the cultural as well as verbal behavior of his son, now in kindergarten, since infancy. A parallel study in the U.S. would undoubtedly provide some interesting and valuable contrasts and insights.

4. Japanese baby talk and its use, even by nisei and sansei, were discussed.

5. National attitudes toward native language provide an interesting area for research.

6. In self-reference and address, Japanese constantly reflects role linguistically, and power relationships are explicitly expressed. It was suggested that there may be a closer parent-child relationship among Japanese than among Americans. However, there was a question as to whether there is always correlation between overt linguistic structure and deep psychological meaning.

7. In investigating the use of akutai, it will be important to collect relevant demographic data as well as data on the general situation and degree of aggression.

8. It is possible for the same words to occur with very different--even opposite--meanings. It is important to be able to read the significant signals that determine which meaning obtains in any given occurrence.

VII. Draft Proposals for Joint Sociolinguistic Research (The following draft outlines for joint Japanese-American sociolinguistic research projects were prepared and discussed during the afternoon session on Thursday, August 27 and the morning and afternoon sessions, Friday, August 28).

Sociolinguistic Studies Across Cultures

1. Project title: "Speech Levels in Japanese and English and Their Sociolinguistic Implications"

Summary: The misuse of speech levels by non-natives in Japanese and English often causes interpersonal friction. Both languages have speech "styles" or levels appropriate to variations in situations, although Japanese is more complex and has much basic research. In particular, the use of the wrong level has many bad results, two of which are: (1) in English, a psychological distance is maintained by a formal style and the American feels the Japanese who is unable to use the colloquial is unfriendly and so on,--which often causes irritation and a break-down in communication; (2) in Japanese, the English learner must be able to interpret various styles in order to establish the decision-maker in a group, and so on. The sociolinguistic aspect of speech level use by non-natives has previously received almost no significant research, but both the Japanese and American sides at the conference are interested in this area.

Project: Investigate: (1) the linguistic differences in phonology, lexicon, and stylistic rules between "consultative" and "vernacular" speech levels in Japanese and English, with both a native analyst and the necessary "outside" (to use Labov's term) analyst; (2) the correlated differences in social behaviour; (3) the results of misuse of speech levels by non-natives; (4) the stages of acculturation, especially in the use of speech levels.

Personnel: Conference participants particularly interested in working on this project are:
American side: Professors Hoffer and Sanches
Japanese side: Professor Kunihiro

2. Project title: "Comparison of Culture Rejection by Youth in Japan and U.S.: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Youth Language in Two Cultures"

The generation gap, that is the breakdown of communication between adults and youth, is the source of grave problems in our society today. The youth are disidentifying themselves with the adult culture of the "establishment" by using a different kind of language, style of dress, value system, etc. The adults, on the other hand, have not attempted to understand the language and culture of the youth.

How are the youth's attitudes and values expressed in their linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors? In what way is their language different from that of the adult? How parallel are these changes among the youth in the U.S. and Japan? It is expected that many of the sociolinguistic characteristics of youth language in the U.S. will be found in Japan also.

The findings should help in identifying the problems in communication between the older and younger generations. The Japanese part of the study should have the added significance of capturing a particular stage of a language that is in the process of change. The change is towards egalitarianism, that is less shift in style (use of honorifics) acoording to status differences, and the source of this change is the younger generation. However, how they actually speak in various situations, including in their new jobs after college, has not been objectively studied so far.

Data to be collected and analyzed

The data to be collected and analyzed will be of two types: written material and actual speech samples. The written material will consist of pamphlets used in student demonstrations and underground newspapers. They will be used to analyze youth language in its most formal style, and to trace the changes from 1960 to the present. Another form of written material, namely mottoes on posters, placards, buttons, T-shirts and bumperstickers, will also be used to measure the hierarchy of values among the youth. Actual speech samples will be collected mainly from college students, although samples from new company employees fresh out of college, and high school and junior high school students will also be included to examine the spread and shift of youth language. A longitudinal study of a few individual cases will also be carried out. The speech data will range from dialogues, discussion sessions to public speeches at rallies, varying the major independent variables--power relationship and setting.

Method of analysis

Relationships between findings from linguistic analysis and content analysis will be examined according to variation in power relationship and setting.

Independent (predictor) variables:

power relationship--student in relation to outgroup authority (university administration, police), ingroup authority (ingroup hero such as Jerry Rubin, student leaders), another student, lower status person (such as children when the student is a practice teacher or camp counselor)

setting--formal or informal, presence (or absence) of ingroup or outgroup members

appearance of speaker and addressee--age, sex, title, dress, hairdo, hygiene

Dependent (criterion) variables based on:

linguistic analysis--style or level (from "formal" to "vernacular" characteristics to be identified), lexicon (personal reference terms, terms related to youth values), styles of discourse (reduction rules in phonology and syntax, invective expressions, etc.)

content analysis--theme and purpose of message, degree of mitigation or aggravation expressed, intensity of emotion, means of arousing ingroup identification, etc.

Personnel: Conference participants particularly interested in working on this project are:
American side: Professors Niyekawa-Howard and Asher
Japanese side: Professor Hoshino

3. Project title: "The Changing Position of Women in Japanese and American Society: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Women's Language in Two Cultures"

Our descriptions of women's speech are usually limited to stereotyped statements such as "Women's speech in Japanese is very different from men's but we don't have this kind of distinction in English." When examples of Japanese women's speech are cited, they usually are simply tagged as such, with no clear indication as to what categories of women use them and under what circumstances.

We need accurate data and a careful analysis of the situation as it actually exists today. For the Japanese, there is the question of the comparative use of polite

language by men and women, as well as the use of distinctive grammatical structures and vocabulary by the two sexes. To what extent does a Japanese woman vary her speech style according to the person addressed, observers, the role she is playing, the subject matter, etc.? On the basis of value judgments by native speakers, what constitutes typically female speech in Japanese?

Admittedly, specifically female speech in English is less overtly marked and more difficult to analyze, but the nature of the distinctions does not seem to have been identified beyond the noting of certain lexemes that are used only by women. The fact is that women's and men's styles of speech are not identical in the U.S., and adequate research has been lacking.

Pertinent to this study will be an analysis of how the present-day social change in the position and attitudes of women is being reflected linguistically. How does the women's lib movement in Japan contrast with the movement in the U.S.? To what extent are typically feminine speech styles being abandoned? What deliberate changes of style, if any, do some Japanese or American women make in order not to sound feminine? Does linguistic evidence point to polarization between those women who support women's lib as compared with those who oppose it? How much style variation exists within the speech of one individual in Japan as compared with America?

After analyzing the use of female speech within the Japanese and the American setting, research should be done in the cross-cultural setting. Given the differing attitude toward women in Japanese and American society, social situations which involve mingling of the two sexes cross-culturally can produce tension. Linguistic data on contrasts in dialogues between members of one cultural group and parallel dialogues between members of a cross-cultural group should be collected, together with value judgments by both Japanese and Americans. Analysis of such data will be pertinent to the overall goal of promoting Japanese-American cross-cultural communication.

The general method to be used in such research will be similar to that proposed for the project on culture rejection by youth. In fact, the two projects will be overlapping in the area of female youth. Accordingly, the research on these two projects should be carried out with very close liaison between both teams, both to share data and analysis, and to avoid duplication of efforts.

Personnel: Conference participants particularly interested in working on this project are:
Japanese side: Professors Nakane and Suzuki
American side: Professors Jorden and Sanches

4. Project title: "Ritual and Interpersonal Language of Insult and Abuse in Japanese and English"

As Professor Hoshino indicated in his presentation, there appears to exist a social milieu (especially among the young) which encourages public expression of profanity in Japan and the U.S.

This emphasis on a freer expression of cursing has become an effective tactic of confrontation among many protest groups.

The cross-cultural variations and similarities in the nature of insulting and cursing, however, have not been thoroughly investigated by social scientists. The studies presently available are limited to those by Labov (1969) and Tsurumi (1954).

It is, therefore, very important to present comprehensive data from two countries and a framework for further comparative analysis of verbal insulting and abuse in both cultures.

A comparative study of words and verbal behavior with invective power should be done in terms of the subjects' demographic differences, place where and occasion when insult is made (private or public; vernacular or formal; dialogue or in a group, and so on) and relationships between speaker and person(s) addressed, as the main variables influencing the behavior. Also, analysis should be done in terms of the degree of aggression and other emotional processes related to the verbal behavior as either motive or evoked states.

Personnel: Japanese side: Professor Hoshino
American side: to be selected
(Note: There is a recognized overlap between this project and the two immediately preceding, suggesting that close and continuing liaison among the teams is essential both to expedite the research and to avoid duplication of effort.)

5. Project title: Personal Reference: "A Sociolinguistic Study of Structures of Personal Reference in Japanese and English"

Professor Suzuki proposes a cross-cultural study on the structures of personal reference in present-day Japanese and English. In papers that he has already written, he has pointed out that Japanese self-reference is definitely of the relative type, varying according to situational changes. Self-reference among Americans, on the other hand, seems to be of the absolute type to a much greater extent. They seldom vary in their use of terms for self. His interpretation of this is that Japanese tend to code their changing roles explicitly by adopting an appropriate linguistic form that suits the occasion. Similar studies on address so far carried out by both American and Japanese scholars have revealed a number of points that are of immense theoretical as well as pedagogical significance.

Personnel: Japanese side: Professor Suzuki
American side: to be selected
(Note: Here, again, overlap with preceding projects recommends close cooperation among research teams.)

6. Project title: "Comparative Semantic Structures of Japanese and English"

1. Relevance of analysis of semantic structure for cross-cultural understanding.
Theoretical work in linguistics and anthropology of the last two decades has emphasized differential structures not only on the syntactic but also the semantic level of language. Explication of the semantic structure of English and Japanese can serve the following specific ends in international communication.
a) devising better ways of teaching students non-native languages
b) promoting better machine translation
c) providing clues to understanding different cultural patterns, and testable hypotheses of differences in wider cultural patterns.

In addition, comparative semantic structures in English and Japanese provide a rich field for the solution of current problems in linguistic theory.

2. Need for collaboration and development of unified methodology in semantic analyses:
   a) Japanese sememic analysis
   b) American formal ethnolinguistic analysis

Personnel: Conference participants particularly interested in working on this project are:
Japanese side: Professor Kunihiro
American side: Professor Sanches

7. Project title: "Language Acquisition and Socialization" (A study of how Japanese and American children acquire their native languages and become social beings within their own societies)

A human being is born into a language, so to speak; but that language is not just given to him. He has acquired it over many years; he has grown in the language and with the language. It can even be said that together with other cultural phenomena the language has made a human being what he is. Language is his means of describing nature, the climate, and other aspects of the culture; language is his means of communication with others; language is his main means of thinking; language is his means of recognition of reality.

A human being is not able to use his language from the moment of birth. It takes him some years to acquire it. He learns both his mother-tongue and other cultural behavioral rules. Thus, with acquisition of the language and other aspects of the culture, he becomes a member of the society into which he was born.

When we observe languages and cultures we see there are similarities and differences among them. Thus not only are they fascinating as a research subject but it is also of the utmost importance--particularly at present when we see so much interpersonal and international misunderstanding through those differences--to make more systematic and revealing studies of these similarities and differences.

As part of these studies it may be fruitful to go back and study the earlier stages when children in a culture try to learn the language and other cultural behavioral rules.

If studies of this kind are done cross-culturally, it can be shown that cultural-linguistic differences have already been established as a result of different ways of

child-rearing in each country. These studies will need careful first hand observation, recording and analyses of the interaction between the child and his parents, friends, teachers and the mass communicational media. For this purpose close cooperation, in the present case between United States and Japan research scholars, is called for.

Personnel: Japanese side: Professor Ogasawara
American side: to be selected

8. Project title: Hawaiian Japanese (A linguistic analysis and sociolinguistic study of Japanese spoken in Hawaii as a new dialect of Japanese)

Japanese is widely spoken in the immigrant Japanese community in Hawaii. However, their Japanese (i.e. "Hawaiian Japanese") is different from so-called standard Japanese (i.e. "Japanese Japanese"). We may consider Hawaiian Japanese as a new dialect of the Japanese language. The differences that exist between "Hawaiian Japanese" and "Japanese Japanese" seem to reflect the processes of both social and psychological adjustment to a new social and cultural environment on the part of the Japanese immigrants. This means that by studying Hawaiian Japanese such adjustment processes and also the process of creating a new dialect may be identified. The research proposed here is intended to carry out just such studies.

Personnel: Conference participants particularly interested in working on this project are:
American side: Professor Higa
Japanese side: Mr. Inoue

9. Project title: "Contrastive Translation Studies of English and Japanese

One means of arriving at a contrastive analysis of Japanese and English verbal expression is through the comparison of translations in the two languages. Both grammatical and semantic structures can be analyzed and contrasted, and the results would complement the research on semantic structures proposed by Professors Kunihiro and Sanches.

It was suggested that Professor Hattori be invited to direct such a project. Professor Nakane indicated her interest in participating. American counterparts are to be selected.